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ABSTRACT

The problem of primary education has existed for some time in both the western and eastern regions of the United Republic of Cameroon in Africa. It was generally accepted that the main reason for the poor performance of the education system was the insufficient training of the vast majority of primary school teachers. From the beginning, ENIR (Rurally Oriented Primary Teacher Training Institute) and later IPAR (Institute of Rurally Oriented Applied Education), the new and expanded version of ENIR, were designed as essential means of solving the problem. Their endeavour was to create a ruralized school directed toward meeting the economic and social needs of Cameroon. With an average rate of primary school enrollment of over 60%, the country was reaching a critical point beyond which squandering of resources and failure to meet real needs would become hard to tolerate. If the system were to become too expensive to operate and too unrelated to the needs of society, the development envisaged under the third five-year plan, combined with the considerable demand for training which it created, would cause a dangerous situation in which the deficit would increase at the same rate as school attendance and very likely even faster. This paper examines the reasons which led to the emphasis on the ruralization of primary education, and hence, the training of teachers able to carry it out; identifies the agents, stages, and mechanisms of innovation; and gives a brief account of the operation and performance of the Cameroonian education system. (NQ)

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ED 158402

International Bureau of Education

Experiments and innovations in education

8

# An experiment in the ruralization of education: IPAR and the Cameroonian reform

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Experiments and innovations in education No. 2

# An experiment in the ruralization of education: IPAR and the Cameroonian reform

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## Preface

The present series of booklets began with a study by Professor Raymond Lallez of a Canadian experiment in the field of adult education: the TEVEC case. Now the International Bureau of Education is fortunate enough to obtain the further collaboration of this highly qualified specialist, whose lucid and penetrating analysis go beyond a mere description of the experiment to contribute to an understanding of the actual process of innovation.

A particular interest of this work lies in the fact that this is the first time the 'Experiments and innovations' series has dealt with an African subject. Moreover — and herein, perhaps, lies the innovation — attention should be drawn to the close relationship existing between the experiment itself and the socio-cultural environment in which it is situated. This is a far cry from the irrelevant survivals which were characteristic of the post-colonial era in some countries.

An examination of the reasons which led the authorities to lay such emphasis on the ruralization of primary education, and hence on the training of teachers able to carry it out, will certainly give rise to fruitful reflections. The Secretariat would be grateful if readers would communicate these by means of the questionnaire annexed at the end of the volume.

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## Introduction

## The need for and orgin of innovation: The crisis in education in Cameroon

The problem of primary education has existed for some time in both the western and the eastern region of Cameroon[1]. As our main interest is in the origin and process of innovation, we feel it essential to point out that, from the beginning, ENIR, and later IPAR[2], the new and expanded version of ENIR, were designed as essential means of solving the problem and are therefore closely related to it.

Our main concern being to identify the agents, the stages and the mechanisms of innovation, the form and the terms in which this problem originally arose must be made clear from the start. In 1965, studies carried out by SEDES (Société d'études pour le développement économique et social) and IEDES (Institut d'études pour le développement économique et social) at the request of the French Secretariat of State for Co-operation produced figures which highlighted the urgency of the situation.

But convincing and revealing though they were, these figures themselves were not a decisive factor: Government authorities and those responsible at the highest level for education were of course aware of them, but we were able to ascertain that, at the time, their circulation was restricted, not to say confidential, and that consequently their existence was largely unsuspected, even by most of those in charge of education. There was, however, already a widespread feeling that education was undergoing a crisis, in fact this feeling preceded the surveys to which we refer. Political leaders were among the first to become acutely aware of it at an

1. The Federal Republic of Cameroon became the United Republic of Cameroon in 1972.
2. ENIR (Ecole normale d'instituteurs de plein exercice à vocation rurale, Rurally Oriented Primary Teacher Training Institute) founded in 1967 became IPAR (Institut de pédagogie appliquée à vocation rurale, Institute of Rurally Oriented Applied Education) in August 1969.

early stage: as far back as 1962, the Congress of the UNC (Union nationale camerounaise) raised the problem in public and discussed it at length. The President of the Republic was no less sensitive to the problem and in an important speech in 1965 he stated it even more forcefully, at the same time setting new aims for national education. This prompt and keen political awareness, soon expressed as a sustained and resolute policy was to be a constant and decisive factor, which is why we emphasize it at the outset. Political leaders were not, however, the only ones to be aware of the problem: it was felt acutely by many teachers and particularly by the regional and departmental inspectors. Their dual role as administrators and educators no doubt made them particularly sensitive to it and also explains the inevitably important part they were to play in the development of innovation, whether by supporting it or opposing it, advancing it or holding it back.

This uneasy feeling, which has already been described as widespread, acute and emerging at an early stage was also to prove well-founded. All who experienced it had two reasons for doing so, corresponding to two criticisms. The first criticism of elementary education, and also - to some extent as a result of the latter - of secondary education, was that it was highly expensive. The small number of children completing their primary education and the even smaller proportion obtaining the primary school certificate (Certificat d'études primaires-CEP) was deplored by all. Regret was also expressed at the high rate of dropping out and at the large number of children repeating grades. This, then, was the first criticism. The second merely strengthens and extends it. The small number of school-leavers - including those who had completed the course and obtained a diploma - who were able easily to integrate and take an effective part in society was another symptom of the low cost-benefit ratio of education. The intolerable paradox of the education system was therefore, that, whilst being very costly and training only an élite, it did not train that élite properly either to achieve personal fulfilment or to play their due role in national development.

In both respects the quantitative studies and statistical surveys only confirmed what many already suspected. This suspicion was, of course, reinforced by the conclusive nature of the figures and their magnitude, but they did not produce the sensation and revelation which they might otherwise have done. Of course the general feeling of dissatisfaction would not have arisen in the first place if numerical and quantitative considerations had not

played some part, but until the publication of the studies and surveys these considerations were only intuitive and very approximate, being based on incomplete, rule-of-thumb observations. They were discussed at meetings, for instance the annual assembly of inspectors, where they were used as supporting evidence rather than as an argument in themselves, and where the unsatisfactory performance of the education system was discussed from first-hand experience and from a professional point of view.

To conclude this analysis of the situation immediately preceding the change-over in which we have attempted to identify its main initial cause, it could be said that, in 1967, there was a feeling in Cameroon, which was much more marked in political and administrative and among teachers circles than in the population in general, that education, and particularly elementary education, was suffering from serious deficiencies, both in its conception and in the methods used. It could also be said that at this time these deficiencies were apparent in the low cost-benefit ratio of education, whether considered from the viewpoint of actual cost or from that of the role played in society by the products of the system. When the exact figures became known, this feeling was confirmed. Out of that feeling arose a desire for change, voiced both in political assemblies and speeches at the highest level and in professional meetings and lectures on education by those who, by virtue of the heritage of the past and of the French tradition, played a leading part in primary education. (Western Cameroon, where rules and customs closer to the British tradition prevail, should therefore be considered separately).

Before we turn our attention to a detailed analysis of the factors and mechanisms at work in the process of innovation itself, a brief account of the operation and performance of the Cameroonian system of education is necessary. Before giving it, however, we should make clear our reasons for doing so, for it may otherwise appear to contradict what has been said above. While there is no need to know the exact figures in order to be aware of the shortcomings of an education system, it is nonetheless true that there would be no such malaise without the shortcomings. An explanation of the malaise therefore implies a knowledge of the shortcomings. It should be added that the feeling of dissatisfaction helped to create the demand for more accurate figures and that these, in turn, increased dissatisfaction. Moreover, and this is particularly important, many of the difficulties and obstacles which were to hold back innovation or change its course, were directly or indirectly

connected with the quantitative aspects of the problems. It is therefore not surprising that these figures were such an important factor in the decisions taken at the beginning and throughout the whole process of innovation. Having identified the area of activity and described the climate of opinion as being one of awareness of the need for change, it would be difficult either to understand or to continue this study without using figures and statistics to illustrate the situation upon which the change was to operate and to identify its most sensitive points.

The true nature of the problems and their extreme seriousness will be more apparent if the scale of the efforts already made by Cameroon in the field of education are fully appreciated[1]. Some years before, the amount spent on education in the two federated states had already reached 20% of the national budget. In 1965 there were 821,423 children of school age (5-14 years) in East Cameroon and 245,000 in West Cameroon (6-14 years). In East Cameroon the total number of children attending schools had increased from 350,000 in 1960 to 609,000 in 1966, the average yearly increase being approximately 10%.

Table 1

School enrolment rates from 1960 to 1966 for children of 6 to 13 years of age in East Cameroon

| Year | Pupils (in thousands) | Number of pupils per 1000 inhabitants | Attendance rates from 6-13 years |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | % |
| 1960 | 356 | - | - |
| 1961 | 371 | - | - |
| 1962 | 428 | 112 | - |
| 1963 | 490 | 126 | - |
| 1964 | 552 | 138 | - |
| 1965 | 577 | 144 | 55.3 |
| 1966 | 609 | 147 | 56.4 |

1. The numbers, statistics, percentages and tables given in this chapter are taken from the following documents: *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*. Yaoundé, IPAR, 10 February 1972. *Draft Request for Assistance from the United Nations Development Programme to set up a National Institute of Education in Cameroon*. December 1971. More details will be found in these two works and in those listed in the annexed bibliography.

These enrolment rates mask considerable regional disparities.

Table 2

Enrolment rates in the various administrative regions of East Cameroon

| Administrative regions | School enrolment rates % |
|---|---|
| South-Central | 79.4 |
| Coastal | 75.3 |
| West | 74.2 |
| East | 67.5 |
| North | 18.5 |

These disparities should be borne in mind when considering the process of innovation for, as can be imagined, they greatly complicate the situation. The discrepancy between the northern region and the others is particularly noticeable. In West Cameroon, enrolments increased from 73,411 in 1959-1960 to 124,300 in 1964-1965, the rate of enrolment being 51.3%. It is interesting to note the parallel increase in numbers at the different levels of education, illustrated in the following table which shows the development of education from 1960 to 1970:

Table 3

Increases in enrolment rates at the different levels of education in East Cameroon from 1960 to 1970

| Level of Education | 1960 | 1970 | Increase |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | % |
| Primary | 421 000 | 901 000 | 114 |
| Secondary | 12 100 | 63 900 | 428 |
| Higher | - - | 2 000 | 2 000 |

The increase in school enrolments in Cameroon can also be illustrated by figures showing the annual average growth rates, the present situation and estimates made in connexion with the

5

third five-year development plan (1971-1976)[1].

Table 4

Increase in school population foreseen in the third five-year plan in East and West Cameroon

*Primary education*
Average annual growth rate: 5% (5 years)

| | *1968/69* | *1969/70* | *1975/76* |
|---|---|---|---|
| East Cameroon | 669 000 | 690 000 | 850 000 |
| West Cameroon | 183 400 | 203 800 | 258 300 |
| Cameroon | 852 400 | 893 800 | 1 108 300 |

*General secondary education*
Average annual growth rates in recent years:

East Cameroon 14% (15% expected during third plan)
West Cameroon 23%

| | *1968/69* | *1969/70* | *1975/76* |
|---|---|---|---|
| East Cameroon | 37 200 | 42 000 | 75 000 |
| West Cameroon | 4 520 | 4 900 | 8 100 |
| Cameroon | 41 730 | 46 900 | 83 100 |

1. These tables are taken from the *Draft request for assistance*, op. cit., p. 2 and 3.

Table 4 cont.

*Technical education*

Annual average growth rates in recent years: East Cameroon 13.1%
West Cameroon 16.3%

| | *1968/69* | *1969/70* | *1975/76* |
|---|---|---|---|
| East Cameroon | 11 272 | 12 720 | 19 280 |
| West Cameroon | 1 788 | 2 080 | 4 100 |
| Cameroon | 13 060 | 14 800 | 23 380 |

*Higher education* (including students abroad)

Average annual growth rates (1962-67): 15%

| *1968/69* | *1969/70* | *1975/76* |
|---|---|---|
| 3 175 | 3 750 approx. | 6 000 approx. |

With an average rate of primary school enrolment of over 50%, the country was reaching a critical point beyond which squandering of resources and failure to meet real needs would become hard to tolerate. If the system were to become too expensive to operate and too unrelated to the needs of society, the development envisaged under the third five-year plan, combined with the considerable demand for training which it created[1], would cause a dangerous situation in which the deficit would increase at the same rate as school attendance and very likely even faster. In this case the improvement of education would become not only necessary but urgent if financial and possibly social and political disaster were to be averted. Hence also the urgent necessity for the planning departments to carry out serious statistical surveys. The results were so eloquent that it is easy to understand when reading them with what irresistible force the awareness of need was to develop into a sense of urgency. This quantitative information played an

1. For analysis of these needs see *Draft request for assistance...* op. cit.

important part in alerting certain people in authority to the situation, and the sense of urgency became one of the most important factors in the process of innovation. Although it explains many aspects of this process and accounts for many of the methods used to further it, the fact that neither those in authority nor the public at large had the necessary information or desire for information to be aware of its importance nevertheless explains, in our opinion and as we shall attempt to show, a certain number of other aspects of the process of innovation and certain peculiarities in its progress and in the strategy adopted.

Before giving in detail the figures which demonstrate the poor standard of education[1], some basic and significant figures could serve as an introduction. Nearly 50% (436 out of 1,000) of pupils beginning primary education will have dropped out after three years. The seriousness of this state of affairs will be fully appreciated when it is realized that failure to continue primary education beyond the third year inevitably involves a very high risk that the reading skill will be lost. In West Cameroon in 1960/1961, 159,000 children were counted in the first grade of primary school; six years later there were 54,000 registered in the final primary grade, a wastage rate of approximately 66%. The figures for the examination results at the end of the primary course are equally revealing — only 31.8% of the pupils in the final primary grade obtain the CEP (*Certificat d'études primaires*). At this rate, the CEP therefore costs seven times more than it would in a system without any wastage. In all, only 17% of the pupils reaching the top class of primary school will be able to continue their studies which, in any case, are no guarantee of employment, whilst 83% will find that their education has given them little preparation for personal fulfilment or for the role of active and productive citizens. For every 1,000 pupils enrolled in primary school, only 5 will pass their *baccalauréat*, many years later.

The following tables[2], drawn up on the basis of existing statistics and the preparatory documents for the third five-year plan, illustrate this alarming situation. Table 5 illustrates wastage

1. *Draft request for assistance...* op. cit.
2. See Labrousse A. Les déperditions scolaires et leurs incidences sur le coût des élèves. *Bulletin d'information/News bulletin* (Yaoundé), No. 9. September-October 1970.

from one grade to the next over a five-year period (1965/66-1969/70) in West Cameroon, where almost all primary schools are private (in 1968/1969 only 69 of the 760 primary schools were run by local authorities. The significance of the wastage rate at the end of the fourth year (15.9% on average) lies in the fact that fees must be paid from the fifth year onwards. It is particularly serious that losses should be so heavy at the end of the first year (24.2% on average). The reason given for the particularly high wastage rate at the end of primary education only underlines its seriousness. To advance the theory that pupils abandon their studies at this stage because they have little hope of continuing them beyond primary level is to call the concept nature and aims of education itself into question.

Table 5

Progressive decrease in primary enrolments from 1965 to 1970 in West Cameroon (as percentage of previous year's enrolment)

| Years | Class 1 to 2 | Class 2 to 3 | Class 3 to 4 | Class 4 to 5 | Class 5 to 6 | Class 6 to 7 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 1965/66 | 12.8 | 4.9 | 10.0 | 16.6 | 8.1 | 23.0 |
| 1966/67 | 33.4 | 3.3 | 5.6 | 15.3 | 3.2 | 31.1 |
| 1967/68 | 23.1 | 10.1 | 10.1 | 11.8 | 7.4 | 18.8 |
| 1968/69 | 18.5 | 11.9 | 11.9 | 7.5 | 10.2 | 12.9 |
| 1969/70 | 13.3 | 4.3 | 13.5 | 28.1 | 16.0 | 40.2 |
| Average 1965/70 | 20.3 | 6.9 | 10.5 | 15.9 | 9.0 | 25.2 |

Table 6

Actual progress of an intake of 10,000 new pupils enrolled in the first year of primary education in East Cameroon[1]
(Public and private education combined)

| Year | *Primary education* 1st | 2nd | 3rd | 4th | 5th | 6th | *Lower secondary* 7th | 8th | 9th | 10th | *Upper secondary* 11th | 12th | 13th |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of students | 10 000 | 7 410 | 6 550 | 5 640 | 5 300 | 5 050 | | | | | | | |
| | | | | passed CEP | | 1 460 | | | | | | | |
| General secondary education | | | | | | | 757 | 637 | 533 | 439 | 149 | 103 | 67 |
| | | | | | | | | | passed BEPC | 290 | passed bac. | | 46 |
| Long technical course | | | | | | | 14(2) | 12(2) | 10(2) | 8(2) | 42 | 37 | 21 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | 9 passed Tech. Bac. | | |
| Short technical course | | | | | | | 289 | 199 | 153 | 113 | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | passed CAP | 71 | | | |
| Post primary | | | | | | | 65 | 33 | | | | | |

1. Taking into account repeating and drop-outs at all levels of the system (average for the 1965/1969 period).
2. Recruitment being discontinued: only the upper secondary course to be retained.

Table 7

Average figures for repeating and drop-outs at the various levels of the education system in East Cameroon
(average over the 1965-1970 period, public and private education combined)

| Level and type of education | Rate | 1st year | 2nd year | 3rd year | 4th year | 5th year | 6th year | 7th year |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Primary | Repeating | 40 | 34 | 30 | 28 | 31 | 43 | - |
| | Drop-outs | 26 | 12 | 14 | 6 | 5 | - | - |
| Secondary-general | Repeating | 9 | 9 | 13 | 20 | 13 | 27 | 34 |
| | Drop-outs | 14 | 15 | 15 | - | 27 | 25 | - |
| Secondary-long technical | Repeating | - | - | - | - | 14 | 8 | 56 |
| | Drop-outs | - | - | - | - | 10 | 37 | - |
| Secondary-short technical | Repeating | 4 | 9 | 5 | 17 | - | - | - |
| | Drop-outs | 30 | 21 | 25 | - | - | - | - |

Table 8

Cost of training pupils to various levels of qualification, taking wastage into account, in East Cameroon - Public Education

| Qualifications | Theoretical cost (in CFA francs) | Actual cost taking into account repeating and drop-outs (CFA francs) |
|---|---|---|
| CEPE (primary) | 32 160 | 411 650 |
| BEPC (lower secondary) | 225 200 | 450 400 |
| CAP (vocational proficiency) | 435 920 | 1 046 210 |
| General Baccalauréat | 265 020 | 644 000 |
| Technical Baccalauréat | 431 | 1 725 000 |

Costs shown are those for the course of study leading directly up to the examination only.

Agreement on the causes of this poor cost-benefit ratio appears to be as general as the feeling of dissatisfaction which we have described. It is true that most of them are so obvious as to call for no comment. No one, for instance, has ever disputed the importance of factors external to the school system, social and health factors in particular. The pupil's family cannot help him to retain and consolidate what he learns at school: he is often weakened by malnutrition, the fatigue caused by travelling long distances, by parasites and malaria. The government is aware of these problems, which it is trying to solve in so far as economic growth permits it to develop its social policy. But factors specifically connected with the school are just as numerous and important

and just as indisputable. It is quite clear that the large number of pupils per class was and still is an obstacle to effective teaching. In 1965/1966 there were 4,954 classes in official schools and the numbers per class were as follows:[1]

| | |
|---|---|
| less than 30 pupils per class | 782 |
| 30-39 pupils per class | 743 |
| 40-49 pupils per class | 862 |
| 50-59 pupils per class | 774 |
| 60-69 pupils per class | 642 |
| 70-79 pupils per class | 390 |
| 80 and over | 761 |

Numbers are highest in the first grades, which often have over 100 pupils. The problems of overcrowding in such classes are aggravated by the inadequacies of the premises and the primitive nature or, as is much more often the case, absence of furniture.

It is unanimously agreed that age disparities also impede efficiency. 'Primary schools accept too many children who do not belong to the age group for which the course was designed: approximately 68,000 of the 576,000 pupils in 1964/5 were 14 or over[2]. It is not therefore surprising that many pupils are very behind with their studies, and this in turn creates a considerable educational problem. In 1964/5 the figures for State schools in four *départements* were as follows:[3]

Table 9

Proportion of children who had fallen behind their own age group in first, third and fifth grades of State schools in 4 *départements* (1964/65)

| Primary school grade | Normal age or younger | One or two years behind | Three or more years behind |
|---|---|---|---|
| First | 25.1% | 46.3% | 28.6% |
| Third | 16% | 46.3% | 37.7% |
| Fifth | 10.6% | 30.3% | 59.1% |

1. These figures and those that follow are taken from the *Draft request for assistance*... op. cit.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

This situation worsens steadily from the beginners' classes to the final class, where pupils are as much as three years behind.

Long before 1967 it was generally accepted that the main reason for the poor performance of the education system was the insufficient training of the vast majority of primary school teachers. It is therefore natural that analysis of the nature and consequences of this conviction, as firmly held as it was widespread, should make it possible to identify the start of the process of innovation and begin to analyse that process.

## I. Prelude to Innovation: the birth of ENIR

This is unanimously agreed to have been the decisive factor, for two main reasons. The first is a general reason connected with what one might call the logic of education: if children are being poorly educated the cause must first of all be sought in the educators themselves, and their training improved or reformed. This may seem a rather high-handed argument but it is not an easy one to counter, which is why, whenever a need for change begins to be felt, it leads to a call for the reform of teacher training. The same reasoning leads to the conclusion that the better the primary education, the easier it will be to improve secondary education: thus, to be effective, the improvement of education must begin with the teachers or trainee teachers working in primary schools. Even if it were as simple and obvious as it seems, this conclusion cannot be put into practice without raising many complex problems to which it is not always possible to find such simple and obvious solutions. This soon becomes apparent in any reform launched on this basis and, the reform in Cameroon was no exception to the rule. But the generally accepted facts and the persuasiveness of the above reasoning convinced everyone of the need for reform and this general agreement, at any rate at the beginning, meant that the urgency of the need was recognized without difficulty.

In addition to the general argument set out in the preceding paragraph, specific shortcomings in Cameroon pointed to teacher training as a key area. However, the shortcomings themselves were open to two different interpretations, not by any means mutually exclusive, which suggested different remedies. Distinguishing between them involved clarifying the premises of the preceding argument, which resulted in the idea of reform of teacher training. This definition and clarification of the problem was a pre-condition for purposeful reform and without them it would not be possible to understand how the idea was put into effect and the reform carried out.

According to the first interpretation, the inadequacy of teacher training is seen in terms of under-qualification, a low level

of general knowledge and culture, but also insufficient skill in communicating knowledge or culture to pupils. This kind of deficiency obviously existed in Cameroon and there was no difficulty in reaching agreement on this point.

Table 10

Composition of primary teaching staff in East Cameroon, 1970

| Categories | Qualifications | Number of teachers | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| Primary teachers | Baccalaureat | 247 | 1.8% |
| Assistant primary teachers | BE or BEPC | 1926 | 14.4% |
| General teachers | CAFMEG | 1560 | 11.6% |
| Instructors | Certificate of Primary Studies | 9674 | 72.2% |

*This table[1] shows that 72% of the teachers resposible for preparing pupils for the CEP had got no further than that level themselves, and that only 16% of practising teachers can be considered properly qualified.*

In West Cameroon the situation is little better. In fact it is aggravated by the fact that instructors cannot be given any help by inspectors, because the latter are firstly too few, lack the financial resources and transport facilities necessary to carry out their task as teaching advisers and because they are over-burdened with administrative work. In 1965/1966 one inspector was responsible on average for 263 teachers in State and private schools. To get a better idea of what this figure means, the number of school days (less than 200 a year) and the

1. Taken from the *Draft request for assistance* ... op. cit.

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distances involved in visiting schools in the bush[1], must be taken into account.

No-one could remain indifferent to these figures. It was therefore inevitable that if reform was ever to be undertaken it would take them into consideration and attempt to raise the level of qualifications. In view of the necessarily limited resources available for initial training, it was just as inevitable that particular attention would have to be paid to the provision of in-service training for teachers.

These figures are so impressive and so eloquent that they may make it tempting, particularly for those who are themselves well educated, by which we mean educated within the framework and according to the standards of traditional education - to give absolute priority to this first kind of deficiency, overlooking the second, neglecting it and eventually forgetting its existence. This is what happened, for some time and to a certain extent, to many inspectors at regional and departmental level in Cameroon who had reached a high level of education, either at the Ecole Normale Supérieure at Yaoundé or in France at the Ecole normale supérieure in Saint-Cloud or the Ecole normale primaire in Auteuil.

Without entirely rejecting the first interpretation of the inadequacy of teacher training, one might also advance a second interpretation and hence other possible reasons for the poor results of education, and so suggest other remedies. It is important that we should define this second kind of shortcoming because, if it had not been recognized, no real reform would have taken place in Cameroon. Moreover, only by observing how and by whom it was recognized will it become clear why the process of innovation was able to be genuine and effective. The effect of the considerable divergence of views which emerged within an apparent consensus on the development of reform was to be important; firstly it concerned a point unanimously considered to be vital and secondly it was temporarily to exclude from the reform movement those who occupied an important position in primary education and who could, indeed should, have been the main instigators and supporters of such a movement.

It may be considered that the poor standard of primary education

1. Taken from the *Request to the United Nations Development Programme for the establishment of a rurally oriented primary teacher training institute*, p. 13-14.

is due not only to the low level of qualification of teachers, as it has been defined so far, but also to the unsuitability or incorrect orientation of the education given, which may be unsuited not only to the pupils receiving it, to their circumstances, their way of life and their outlook, but also to the social and economic needs of their country which supports them and to whose life and development they must in turn make a contribution. This hypothesis does not affect the general conclusion that teachers are not properly qualified to give the kind of education they have to give and that their own training should therefore be reconsidered and improved. But the same words now have a different meaning: 'inadequate qualifications' no longer means inadequate knowledge and insufficient ability to transmit knowledge. The training itself, its methods, content and above all its objectives, are now being called into question. The questioning of objectives in fact calls for radical changes in methods, attitudes and curricula. The example of Cameroon will be further confirmation of what we attempted to prove in a different context.[1] Genuine innovation is only possible - which does not necessarily mean it will be effective - if new objectives are defined. Methods may of course be the starting point but a genuinely new approach will emerge only to the extent that the full use of the new methods leads spontaneously to new objectives or calls the old objectives into question, and causes new ones to be chosen.

It follows that emphasis on one or other of the two interpretations will lead to different approaches to the improvement of teacher training and the differences will be even greater if one is emphasized to the almost complete exclusion of the other. Adopting the first interpretation, improvement may be achieved in two different ways, which are not mutually exclusive and can be combined. The first is to facilitate the assimilation and transmission of knowledge by cutting down the amount to be learned. This by no means precludes recognition of the importance of the second way, that is to say acting upon the level of recruitment of student teachers, the length and level of their studies, and the level and quality of teacher educators. According to the second, interpretation, improvement cannot be obtained simply by curtailing curricula and extending or raising the level of the training

1. Lallez, R. *The TEVEC case: an experiment in adult education using the multi-media system.* Paris, Unesco : IBE, 1972. 64 p. (Experiments and innovations in education, No. 1).

already given. As the example of Cameroon will illustrate, the first hypothesis does not lead to a genuinely new approach. Adopting the second assumption, however, the improvement of teachers' training and of their qualification is seen as directly and fundamentally linked with basic changes which go beyond the framework of training itself and raise complex and far-reaching issues which were not always foreseen by the promoters of the original reform, are not always easy to solve and whose solution in any case calls for a long-term strategy, involving time and study and also risks. The example of Cameroon is further proof of this. Even if the first hypothesis does lead to some innovations, they remain within the established framework of existing curricula and institutions, which it is their ultimate aim to consolidate. Innovation resulting from the second hypothesis is situated within a wider context of reform, whether or not this is desired or indeed realized, and the extent to which such a situation is desired or realized will influence, complicate and at times even intensify the process of innovation.

It is true that, even before they were invited to meet at what were henceforward to be called 'inspectors' seminars', the inspectors themselves had decided to meet once a year to discuss their problems. It is also true that during these meetings they had, on the basis of first-hand experience and professional analysis, raised the problem of the cost-benefit ratio of education, and that these debates were not merely inconclusive speculations - as early as 1960 they sought and believed they had found solutions to the problem in hand and immediately submitted a certain number of proposals to the government. It would therefore seem that they were justified in maintaining subsequently that they had not failed in their mission and were not the last ones to draw up and propose a plan of reform. However, when their plan is examined it is clear that it boils down to only two recommendations, the second of which follows on from the first. Firstly, new curricula need to be adopted; but apart from certain adjustments to local conditions which affect their spirit and approach superficially, if at all, what the inspectors were really proposing was a curtailment of curricula. Secondly, it was argued, lack of qualified teachers is the main obstacle to the implementation of such curricula, the only real basic problem being that of the initial training and in-service training of teachers, so this is the task to which we should devote our full attention and we should be

prepared to accept or request international aid to help us to carry it out. We recognize the importance of this plan in the sense that it called for considerable human and financial resources, but it was not so significant from the point of view of innovation. Of course the plan entailed the setting up of a system of in-service training, but in accordance with the general approach, this was to be integrated within the existing framework. Far from leading to radical transformation of the institutions already in existence, and particularly of the teacher training school, whose three-year course prepared students for the *baccalauréat* after recruiting them at BEPC level, its logical result would have been to extend and multiply them. It was therefore doubtful whether any innovation was involved, and it would in any case have been limited; it was also doubtful whether it could be carried out. As to international aid, it could only play a temporary and subsidiary role. Of course it is not a factor to be overlooked, and could play an important part in the introduction and launching of a project, but such aid would not be granted to implement proposals which merely shored up the old system. The government would therefore have to find the necessary resources. But how was this possible in a national budget in which, as we have shown, the amount devoted to education had already reached a critical level? It could be argued that the proposed measures, by improving the cost-benefit ratio of education, would have paid for themselves twice over. Apart from the fact that this did not solve the problem of the initial investment, as the benefits would not be reaped for some considerable time after the outlay, those responsible for the political decision would also have had to be convinced of the decisive nature of the improvement; but not only was there no guarantee that by making exceptional sacrifices for the sake of basically traditional measures, they would not be wasting even more money but, as we have already pointed out, their basic concern was to bring about an improvement in which education and development would be more closely linked, and they were therefore particularly interested in a reform which emphasized the adjustment of education to economic and social conditions, redefining its objectives in the light of this new outlook.

It should now be possible to understand not only how a genuine reform movement was able to start in earnest but also why its scope was at first limited and why it progressed through so many complex and difficult stages.

Representatives of international organizations who were familiar with the problems of African countries, and those of Cameroon in particular, shared the views of the political leaders, headed by the President of the Republic, regarding the purpose of primary education. They all felt that it had two main tasks: to give those who were to continue their studies a proper preparation for secondary education and to prepare the rest — the overwhelming majority — to integrate with their environment and to promote development therein. As both society and economy in Cameroon are basically rural, the idea emerged of a new type of training college which would train teachers to play a key part within this specifically rural context. The Cameroonian authorities were very favourably disposed towards the education specialists' view of the aims of such an institution, as they were convinced that these aims reflected the objectives of social and economic development and were essentially a means of attaining them. The representatives of the international organizations for their part were certain that this type of project would interest the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the three basic conditions being met.

Firstly, although UNDP showed little interest in research projects in education whose prospects of becoming effective it judged either too uncertain or too distant, and preferred measures which promised to become rapidly operational, it was not likely to reject outright a request concerning the immediate establishment of an institution with responsibility for an important field of training. This stress on the operational aspect coincided with the Cameroon Government's determination to take concrete measures to remedy the shortcomings of education, and particularly primary education, as soon as possible. The sense of urgency, which was to determine the style of the innovation, influencing its course and complicating its progress, was thus instrumental in ensuring its actual launching.

Secondly, UNDP having accepted the need in developing countries and in Africa in particular for establishments to train teachers for lower secondary education who would themselves be able to train the sub-professional personnel necessary for national development, it was reasonable to expect that it would look favourably on the plan for a rurally oriented primary teacher training institute (ENIR) if there was evidence, which would be easy to supply in the form of figures and critical analyses, that such an institution could meet the specific needs of economic and social development.

Finally, it was well known that UNDP assistance is conditional on a government contribution, which is regarded as evidence of a political will and of a national policy option to support the project as much as possible and as long as necessary. The stated position of the UNC, the statements and communiqués issued by the State Secretariat for Education and above all the speeches of the President of the Republic all demonstrated that the option had been made and at the same time helped to create the will by acting upon public opinion. This was how the ENIR came into being.

From April 1967 to February 1968, operations went forward with remarkable speed. Most people agree that the swiftness with which the legal preliminaries were dispatched and the decisions implemented were largely due to the personal conviction, influence and action of the President of the Republic, that is to say of the political authorities. In April 1967 a request was sent to the UNDP for the establishment of a rurally oriented teacher training institute (ENIR). The contributions over seven years of the United Nations Special Fund and the Cameroonian Government were fixed at 1,612,000 United States dollars from UNDP and $4,829,850 from the Republic of Cameroon. UNDP authorized prefinancing and Unesco, designated as Executing Agency, was able to recruit a Chief Technical Adviser. The project was thus launched even before the plan of operations[1] had been drawn up and before either party had countersigned it. The Chief Technical Adviser, Mr. Becquelin, took up his post on 1 October of that year and helped Mr. Tsala, whose appointment as Director of ENIR had also been put through rapidly, to recruit 70 student-teachers. The College was installed in temporary premises built quickly in Nlongkak, in Yaoundé. The premises themselves were not very suitable, the furniture was borrowed, whilst the equipment was non-existent, and, worse still no provision for the July 1967-June 1968 period had been made for it in the national budget. No operating budget had been foreseen either. The staff consisted of three foreign experts and three national counterparts in addition to the Chief Technical Adviser and the Director. ENIR nevertheless opened its doors on 3 November 1967. The month of November 1967 also saw the establishment of the National Commission on Curricula (*Commission nationale des*

1. It was completed in July 1968, amended in October of the same year and signed on 26 December 1969.

*programmes*), formed of 77 representatives of all the departments concerned, whose task was to draw up curricula for ENIR on the basis of a working document prepared by Unesco. The Commission met from November 1967 to February 1968 for this purpose.

It need hardly be said that although the speed with which the institution was established and brought into operation gave the reform movement the advantage of an initial *fait accompli* and gave it the impetus necessary for genuine innovation, combined with the precariousness of the material conditions, it was to give rise to many difficulties.

If progress of the innovation movement is to be clearly understood, we must first describe this institution, its objectives, organization and functions in order then to be able to set it within the context which we have already described and to judge it in the light of its own internal requirements and those of external realities.

The request to the UNDP, which can be considered the basic document, lays great stress on the objectives of the institution, emphasizing their novelty and describing the methods to be used to achieve them in great detail. ENIR was to train a new type of primary school teacher who would also help to promote economic and social development. The course would also consist of three years' study following the BEPC, and would lead up to an examination and a diploma, the higher certificate of proficiency *(Brevet supérieur de capacité)*. But it was agreed to avoid any Malthusian policy: students were to be required to repeat a year only in exceptional circumstances and as a general rule the diploma was awarded to all students admitted to the third-year course. Although ENIR was a training college for primary teachers, places would be reserved in the competitive entry examination to the secondary teacher training institute (ENS) for 10% of the third-year student teachers leaving ENIR.

In order to explain, illustrate and defend this objective, the request for assistance was obliged to define and analyse the aims and functions of the primary education which the teacher was to be trained to provide; and in order to determine how the primary teacher is to promote economic and social development, the type of education which he will dispense and hence the conception of primary education and the aims assigned to it must first be defined. The authors of the request did not flinch from this task and their text is clear, explicit, forthright and thorough.

First, it was stressed that the education system, and particularly primary education, was ill adapted to the reality of life in Cameroon. This general maladjustment took two forms, each with its own consequences. First of all, it cut the school off from the natural and human environment, which was usually rural, thus making school work abstract, difficult, boring and lifeless, only absorbed by dint of mindless repitition and inevitably laying tremendous stress on memorization. This situation also reduced contact between the school world and that of adults. Education was only valued to the extent that it was increasingly regarded - though quite wrongly - as a means of social advancement, but one which took the pupil outside his own environment. In this way it was indeed the second form of maladjustment: primary education was a very inadequate preparation either for secondary education or for children who were not continuing their studies and would need to fit into an essentially rural environment, work on it, master it, transform and develop it.

In order to eliminate both forms of maladjustment, the old type of school and the traditional teacher must be replaced by a rural school and a rural teacher. 'Ruralization' thus defined therefore becomes the key concept in the desired form of innovation. 'The role of the new school and the rural teacher to be trained at the new training institute will be a vital one in the dissemination of the practical information and the simple techniques necessary for all those concerned to take an active part in economic development at the level which will affect them most directly, that of the village.'[1]

No doubt in order to avoid any ambiguity, the request then takes great care to translate the basic objective - ruralization - describing its functions and using educational terms. The rural primary school must be 'a centre of influence in the community',[2] which it will become first of all through the education given to its pupils. This education will have two apparently very different aspects which are in fact basically complementary, or, to be more precise, they are two stages in logical sequence. Children must first be taught the basic skills which will enable them to understand the world in which they live. To be able to make use of the natural resources available to them they must all be able to read, write and count. But this is not enough: they must also be able to

1. *Request to the United Nations Development Programme*, op. cit., p. 35.
2. *Request to the United Nations Development Programme*, op. cit., p. 19.

put these skills to good use, effectively directing and co-ordinating them in a way which is only possible if the child's psychomotor faculties have been developed and if he has acquired that mastery of the intellectual instruments which his education should give him. But a rural primary school would still not have completely achieved its purpose if it did not also encourage the child to apply these skills and faculties to the surroundings in which he lives and moves. Such skills cannot in any case be said to have been fully mastered unless they have been tested and tried in real situations. The school should therefore not only awaken the children's interest in doing practical tasks in the neighbourhood but could even take responsibility for cultivating and tending a field or an orchard. In the course of such activities the child would learn the rudiments of agriculture in the context of local conditions but would be using modern agricultural techniques. In towns, basic education would include an introduction to manual skills connected with crafts which would teach the puils how to use basic tools.

The rural primary school could not become a 'centre of influence in the community' if it confined its attention to children and took no responsibility for adults. If the natural resources of a country are to be fully exploited, the whole population and not only the children should possess the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. Everyone should also possess the intellectual instruments mentioned above, for without them the 'three Rs' do not necessarily lead to rational or productive activity. The teacher will have to use methods suitable for the education of adults and be able to place his education within the context of daily life and work. But, as the text of the request goes on to say: 'This dual responsibility will involve diversified and integrated but not unconnected or parallel activities: integration will be achieved as the inhabitants of the village, children and adults, pass through the same process'.[1] This is undoubtedly one of the most original aspects of the project, even more striking in that it was formulated as long ago as 1967. It is an aspect which we must emphasize, for our purpose is to follow its progress and analyse its development.

The curious but to some extent understandable paradox was that a large section of public opinion might see this reform as something

1. *Request*, op. cit., p. 19.

retrograde rather than as progressive and innovative. The reason for this was the frequent and deliberate use of the term 'ruralization'. It was inevitable, particularly in Africa, that this term should have evoked associations with the historical past and with colonialism, in which context ruralization is defined essentially by what it is not, being taken as the opposite of industrialization, urbanization and more generally of modernization and development, a controversial interpretation. The authors of the request were too well aware of the possibility of misunderstanding not to attempt to forestall these objections and nip the emergent or re-emergent controversy in the bud. Perhaps they had to use this term because it was so difficult to find another which described their purpose as clearly, but perhaps they used it deliberately, since their aim was to change an existing state of affairs, to stop and completely reverse an existing trend. As long as the term was clearly defined, which indeed it was, it might, by virtue of its arresting and disconcerting nature, jolt the public into an awareness of the new meaning. Be that as it may, the promoters of the reform were apparently well aware that to prevent misunderstanding, silence their opponents, and if possible win them over, it was not enough to spell out their meaning. The inevitable misinterpretations would have to be anticipated and eliminated one by one.

Use of the term 'ruralization' was likely to subject the new education to three main misinterpretations and three major criticisms which were systematically and explicitly identified and condemned.

1. *The first criticism was based on political and ideological considerations:* the new education would make Cameroon once and for all an agricultural country and would moreover make any attempt at industrialization impossible. This twofold criticism was given a twofold answer: no one could deny that Cameroon's principal resources were rural and agricultural and no one could contend that the exploitation of these resources was ever likely to be abandoned. The new system of education would train people not only to exploit but to develop them in new ways which, thanks to the new education, they would be willing and able to use. This type of education opens the way for the industrialization of agriculture. Anxious not to create any educational illusions, however, the proponents of the new school system were careful to point out that it did

not provide an answer to all of Cameroon's problems and might indeed not achieve anything unless other changes, which were the responsibility of other ministries, were forthcoming in the agricultural world and unless other new institutions would be prepared to accept the children when they had finished their schooling[1]. This was a particularly important point. It was also pointed out that the improvement and industrialization of agriculture by no means prevented the emergence and development of other industries. On the contrary, the new system of education would play an important part in such a process. In many respects, (mentality, attitudes, aptitudes) the industrialization of agriculture can be a preparation for other types of industry and form a useful transition from the rural way of life to patterns of behaviour more typical of industrial society proper. Transferability was to be characteristic of what was learned under the new education, which would develop the aptitude for change and for adjustment to new circumstances. The new primary education would not, therefore, condemn Cameroon to an exclusively agricultural future. Moreover, the arguments used to counter the two following objections, and particularly the second, will serve to clarify and strengthen the point which has just been made.

2. *The second possible criticism was based on educational and cultural considerations.* The new system would provide only a 'cut-price' education. Here again the objection might well take two forms. Firstly, the relatively small importance attached to knowledge and culture would be criticized. The answer to this would be that the alternatives are, on the one hand, an education which lays considerable emphasis on knowledge but cannot guarantee its assimilation or its relevance to real-life situations and, on the other, a training which helps the child understand what he is learning and gives him the necessary grounding to enable him continually to acquire new knowledge, the need for and value of which he will be quick to recognize. The second form this criticism could take would be to object that the aim was to reduce primary education - and the following levels - to technical or agricultural training, the narrow, specialized nature of which would be

1. See in particular the *Request...*, p.22.

aggravated by its being given at an early age, to the detriment or even exclusion of basic general education. The answer given here would be identical to the previous one[1]. Of course the new education would take its bearings from the rural environment, encourage a taste and respect for manual work and introduce the child to such work; but its main task, which it would at last be able to tackle as a priority, would be its dual one of communicating useful basic knowledge and giving the intellectual training which would make it possible to acquire further knowledge. It was true, nonetheless, and this fact is to be welcomed rather than disguised, it would henceforward be easier to link it with other forms and types of education: pre-agricultural and pre-technical training, adult education and rural extension services.

3. *Use of the term 'ruralization' could, finally, invite a third criticism based on both educational and political considerations.* Again, it has two aspects. If the new primary education is to be rural, does this not mean that the reform is preparing the way, intentionally or unintentionally, for a split between the village school and the town school and thus for discrimination between two kinds of children, country children and town children? And if the main concern of primary teachers from now on is to be to prepare the vast majority of children who do not continue their studies beyond primary level to take an active part in the rural society from which most of them come, should some thought not also be given to the education of children who will go on to secondary education? Does this not therefore represent a trend towards the establishment of two kinds of primary school, one of which, on the basis of a discrimination all the more arbitrary and unjust as the children are younger, takes in children who intend to go to grammar school while the other is reserved for children who are destined, one might almost say condemned, to spend their lives on the land? This criticism being based on both educational and political considerations, is to some extent a combination of the two others and a combination of the previous answers should be enough to allay these fears and suspicions. As regards the schools themselves, there is no room for doubt on this subject,

1. See *Request...*, op. cit. p. 4.

and this should vouch for the validity of the arguments and the sincerity of the answers already given. In the request for assistance from the UNDP the position is made absolutely clear: the rural primary school will be the only primary school, whether in town or country. It will be attended by all children, both those going on to the secondary school and those who will embark immediately upon their working life on leaving school.

The theoretical principles and guidelines adopted for the ENIR course by the National Commission on Curricula on the basis of a Unesco document were determined in accordance with the objectives which were laid down for rural primary school teachers in order to enable them to carry out the tasks that the new primary education requires of them. These principles and guidelines re-affirmed the positions already adopted in the request. Above the teaching of the basic subjects and a crash course on theoretical and practical educational psychology[1] is a higher level of training, still considered from the angle of the teacher/pupil relationship and determined by the need to relate to African and Cameroonian realities and at the same time to prepare people to take an effective part in the transformation of their environment and in national development. Hence the emphasis on the study of works of black African literature, particularly those which have a rural setting, and on the study of social phenomena, particularly those which illustrate the complementary nature of the relationship between town and country and hence the even greater stress laid on the psychology of the African child. Hence also the special importance of the study of the teaching language and particularly of the relationship between the spoken and written word, the use of new methods of teaching mathematics, the practical applications of science in the spheres of agriculture and health, information on the uses of technology in a rural environment, and practical work connected with agriculture, hygiene and health[2].

These principles and general guidelines were just as applicable to in-service courses for teachers as to the pre-service training courses. As we have shown, no one doubted the need for in-service training and it seemed natural that ENIR should be made

1. For more details see the *Request*...,p.6. It will become apparent why it is not important that they should be given this stage.
2. For more details, see the *Request*, op. cit.

responsible for this. The request therefore proposed the following measures: In-service courses for primary inspectors and educational advisers will last three months and will be held at ENIR. Participants will be required both to study and lecture[1]. The text goes on to stipulate[2] that teaching staff of teacher training courses and institutes could undergo two sessions of in-service training, one year to be spent abroad and one year at the pilot institute (ENIR) where they would work as additional staff.

Under the name and with the status, organization and functions which we have described, the life of ENIR was to be very short. It opened as an autonomous body on 3 November 1967 and was closed by decree 69.157 of 11 August 1969, whereby IPAR was established. This marked the conclusion of one phase in the reform and the beginning of another. We shall now try to explain the significance of these different phases and that of the agents, the determining factors and the mechanisms at work. This task would have been doomed to misunderstanding or failure without the preceding analyses.

1. For more details, see the *Request*, p. 30.
2. *Request*, p. 31.

## II. The development of innovation - from ENIR to IPAR

The process which led from ENIR to IPAR was inevitable and rapid, particularly - so it would appear as it seemed to be simply a strictly logical response to requirements. This would explain the 'dawning awareness' during the first few months of ENIR's existence, which was mentioned by the evaluation mission in its report[1] and seen by the mission as the cause of the broadening and transformation of the project.

It became, in fact, immediately apparent that it would be impossible to attain the goals in view by means of pre-service training alone, with 70 teachers being trained each year. The need for in-service training had thus to be recognized and it was only natural that the teacher training institute should be asked to play an important part in this task, if only for the sake of consistency. This, however, was incidental. The fact is that this had been recognized as one of its functions from the outset, so obvious was the need. It is true that no department organized and administered for that purpose was originally envisaged; but to attempt to justify the emergence of a separate unit on the basis of the foregoing is to fail to see why it necessitated the establishment of a department under another assistant director, in addition to the assistant director for pre-service training, and by a radical change in the overall structure of the institution.

The importance of in-service training cannot be denied of course, either from the point of view of the task in hand or from the organizational standpoint, but it can be grasped only when seen in relation to the need for other functions and other units. The latter arise in response to a need which, while being no less acute than the one already mentioned, is deeper and more decisive. We have seen how the decision to train new teachers in a new training

1. *Report of the evaluation mission.* Yaoundé, 23 January - 5 February 1971. p. 1-3.

institute would have been inexplicable and would never have been made if it had not first been planned to turn the primary school into a new school answering new purposes. However, this pre-condition, though necessary is not sufficient for the elaboration of a pre-service and in-service training programme. It is equally necessary to know beforehand by means of what methods, curricula and perhaps even what new institutions primary education is going to be able to achieve its new purposes.

The patient and careful working out of these methods and curricula cannot possibly be equated with the mere formulation of essential principles and the mere sketching out of the main lines of emphasis which we used previously for identifying the objectives and which were the only basis upon which the National Commission on Curricula[1] could work out the curriculum for the teacher training course. The hasty work, in which the tasks in hand were not logically analysed and in which the various proposals of sub-commissions were all too often simply tacked together, ran counter to the stated aim: not only did it not really change curricula but, far from cutting them down as the inspectors in particular had wished, it added to them. As they were put into effect, empirical changes were made, increasing the compartmentalization of subjects and the divergence from the stated aims.

So it became evident that research was required with a view to working out what soon proved to be a veritable reform of elementary education. By virtue of its importance and its specific character, this research function might have justified the establishment of another department under a third assistant director, responsible for supporting and in a sense 'feeding' the other two departments. However, as soon as work started, and even before, it would have been possible, from first principles alone, to demonstrate beyond doubt that the new training would not be possible without the production of new teaching material. Thus the production function was also so important and of such a specific nature that it might have justified the establishment of yet another department under a fourth assistant director.

Adding the administrative services to the services of the Director and the four assistant directors' departments, we obtain an overall organization chart of IPAR[2] and appear to have retraced the process whereby it came into being, but in fact have not done so.

1. Set up in November 1967, it completed its work in February 1968.
2. See p. 39.

What is more, something essential is lacking in this reconstituted picture of IPAR, something that cannot easily be shown in a chart. Nothwithstanding the importance of the foregoing analysis, it admittedly does not make evident enough all the reasons which justify the existence of IPAR. In addition, it is too much confined to rational explanations and does not reveal the actual process whereby the institution came into being and received official recognition.

This can readily be demonstrated. The argument that pre-service training should be combined with in-service training, research and production was so simple, straightforward and obvious that it immediately made people aware of the need for these other functions. In fact, the request which led to the establishment of ENIR makes explicit provision for them. It contains the following recommendations. '*In-service training courses for teachers* are imperative as the government obviously wishes all primary school teachers to possess the same qualifications as the young teachers who graduate from the pilot institute. The general education and teacher training dispensed in this institution will therefore have to become a factor common to all the existing institutions. The ENI will therefore organize seminars and a system of correspondence courses for the in-service training of teachers.'[1] Further on it is stated: 'The ruralization of primary education as it has been defined calls for a radical change in the content of education and, first of all, in curricula.'[2] '*The participation of the teacher training institute in curriculum reform* cannot under any circumstances be minimized.' Finally the text adds: '*The production of prototypes, textbooks and teaching materials* is imperative in view of the adoption of new curricula differing radically from the old ones in their content and of the use of new teaching methods.'[3] Yet the acceptance of the request led to a plan of operations establishing ENIR, not IPAR. So the reasons have to be analysed more closely and the factors at work in the actual process must be examined more carefully.

The process was undoubtedly set in motion and developed as a result of a combination of factors, the respective importance of which cannot, however, be assessed with certainty.

1. *Request* .... p. 29, para. 72. (Underlined in the text.)
2. Ibid., p. 31, para. 80. (Underlined in the text.)
3. Ibid., p. 31, para. 81.

It may first be assumed that arguments on the side of both caution and urgency were involved. It was perhaps out of caution that emphasis was laid on the new teacher training, other functions inevitably leading to radical changes being played down for the time being in order not to upset and frighten those who upheld the traditional system. The regional and departmental inspectors were, as we saw, ill prepared for a reform attempting to achieve new aims by any other means than the curtailment of curricula and refresher training to improve teachers' qualifications. This assumption is not unfounded, but this option, if such an option was open, was only valid as part of a general strategy, covering a certain period of time and envisaging the means of solving the problem involved. In fact, it must be admitted that there is no reason to suppose that any such strategy was being studied at the time. It is therefore more likely that the question was being only vaguely considered and that the also rather vague feeling prevailed that unduly brutal shocks had to be avoided. Such an attitude was indefensible and this interpretation is not valid unless other feelings and arguments lay behind it, in the first place the feeling and argument of urgency. Now there is no doubt that this entered into it, as is clearly shown in the first part of this study[1]. In the second place there was a tendency to think - to wishful thinking rather, probably in order not to have to examine the difficulties too closely or face up to them too forthrightly - that, despite all logic, the new training, imperfect as it was, would gradually and spontaneously lead to changes beyond the confines of the institute and affecting more than teacher training. The very wording of the request gives this impression at times[2]. At others,[3] the function of training is expressly referred to as being the main one. Although the other functions are recognized as being necessary, they receive only a brief and vague mention, as if they were not the basis of training but just complementary, supporting functions; and this role does not seem to justify the insistence on the need for integration, an insistence affecting the very organization and operation of the institution[4]. On the contrary, it was by tirelessly invoking this need that the sponsors

1. See above, page 18.
2. For example, on page 19.
3. See also the *Report of the evaluation mission*, op. cit. p. 19.
4. This integration is not apparent in the organization chart deduced from out first explanation. Only a much fuller chart could bring it out. (See page 39.)

of IPAR were to defend its existence and the way in which it was organized.

How then can the rapid evolution which was to lead from ENIR to IPAR be explained? Let us not for a moment believe that there was any conflict between the logical requirements and the actual requirements. On the contrary, the former were rapidly and unequivocally strengthened and confirmed by the latter.

However, the burdens and constraints of reality also began to be felt. On the one hand, the obstacles emerged and the forces of inertia and resistance came into play. On the other hand, the logical necessity of the functions and their relations (pre-service training, in-service training, research and production) implied in reality connexions which, necessary as they were, turned out to be much more extensive, complex and consequently constricting than might have been thought *a priori* or on the basis of an initial analysis. This realization was of a different nature from the ones mentioned earlier, in that it was occasioned by contact with reality and by experience. We have already seen how the project came to be launched, as a result of pre-financing from UNDP, before the plan of operation had been signed. Now it is significant that, as early as October 1968, even before the signing of the plan and owing to the problems which arose when a start was made on the project, the need to change it became apparent. It is true that this revision made no substantial difference, but the implications of contact with reality were soon apparent - in some cases upsetting convictions and preconceived ideas. IPAR, with its extensive and complicated tasks, its many departments and the complexity of the operational content of their relationships, was born of this interplay of practice and theory. Before demonstrating this, or at least describing and explaining this phase of development, one might add that this realization and this interplay did not end with the establishment of IPAR and its official recognition: obstacles cannot all be removed at once, nor do new difficulties cease to arise. Both a short-term and a longer-term strategy were therefore required by IPAR and the Government of Cameroon: plans of operation and existing institutions had to be adapted and other institutions had to be set up.

Before describing IPAR more fully, explaining the ways in which it differs from ENIR and showing why its establishment was not only justified but imperative, let us first consider the requirements which had to be met, circumstances which had to be faced, and the obstacles which had to be overcome.

It has already been shown that it is impossible to do without a research group, which can be a determining factor, its work holding the key to pre-service and in-service training and production. It is therefore not surprising that close consideration of the actual tasks to be entrusted to this unit is the easiest way of witnessing the spontaneous birth of an institute, the establishment of which then seems perfectly natural and inevitable. This does not mean, however, that we shall not subsequently re-examine this apparent spontaneity and inevitability.

The problem at the outset was to clarify, in terms of education, the various technical aspects and the political implications of the 'ruralization' of primary education. This could and should be done in two stages: first, the philosophical and political formulation of the aims of education, then the development of curricula and methods for attaining these goals. The process should be continued at a third stage, the point where curricula and methods could be worked out for the training of primary teachers. These curricula and methods would of course be effective only in so far as they enabled teachers to attain the goals of the new education. Once this objective was accepted, it was obviously necessary to extend it to all teachers, not just the 70 full primary teachers graduating annually from the new ENIR in Yaoundé, but the assistant primary teachers who would still, in view of the needs and the resources available, have to be trained, at a lower level, more quickly and in greater numbers, and also the serving teachers, 13,000 out of 15,000 of whom were only instructors (*moniteurs*) with the CEP as their sole qualification. In view of the novelty of the curricula and methods which the new objectives imposed upon the primary school, it soon became apparent that it was too much to ask the teachers to work out by themselves the form of the lessons in the various subjects based on those curricula and methods. When the necessity of preparing the whole of the teaching profession to apply the reform was recognized and consciously accepted, the research centre was obliged to increase the scope of its work to the extent of preparing and drafting lessons. Already heavy at the outset, its task thus became even more considerable. It also entailed establishing and maintaining new and close relations with other departments, thus causing a considerable increase in their work too.

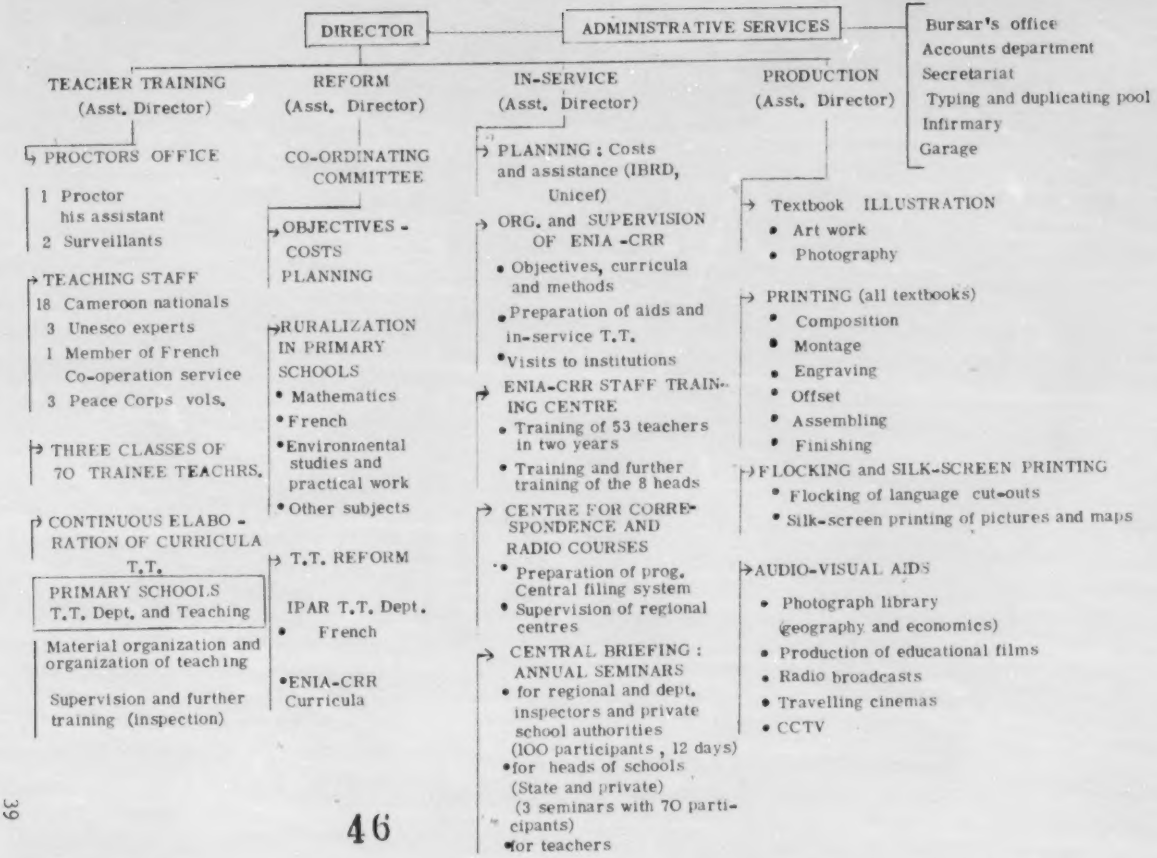
Clearly, the departments concerned with pre-service and in-service training have to keep in particularly close contact with

the research department when the latter is preparing documents which teachers will be using daily and almost hourly. Teacher training curricula and methods will obviously have to devote much attention to the question of how to make the best possible use of such documents. The research department has just as much to gain by this close contact: it is hardly conceivable that a research unit can elaborate teaching materials satisfactorily if it is not well acquainted and in close contact with those who are to use them daily. Again, the in-service training department of the teacher training institute must supervise an operation which must henceforth be as meticulously correct as it is broad in scale and scope. The production function is just as decisively affected and clearly can henceforward operate only within a specially organized department and with its own resources, and in close liaison with the other functions and departments responsible for it. As was pointed out originally[1], it is no longer enough to produce prototypes; inasmuch as the Yaoundé teacher training school obviously cannot itself train all the assistant teachers and retrain the instructors, it must produce the teaching materials and documents which *all* teachers will now need for *all* their lessons. 'Owing to the radical novelty of the teacher attitudes implicit in the reform and the low qualifications of almost 13,000 out of the 15,000 teachers, IPAR has had to *prepare all the lessons* in the various subjects and all the documents required by the teachers. Forty tons of *teaching materials* have already been printed. The work continues according to plan, pending distribution, which has not yet been organized.'[2] The same report continues: 'Furthermore, teachers, whether new recruits or serving teachers, must understand the goals of the reformed education and learn to use new methods. Hence a reform of *teacher training* in all teacher training schools and the elaboration of a ten-year *in-service training* plan.'[3] This last quotation is particularly significant as it allows attention to be drawn to the necessary emergence of a new function which can hardly be seen in the organization chart, even a complete and detailed one, for the simple reason that it is inherent in all other functions and forces itself upon all the assistant directors' departments, in varying degrees of course: this function is operational planning, the need for

1. *Request* ..., op. cit., p. 31.
2. *Half-yearly report. 1 July-December 1972*, p.2 (Underlined in the text.)
3. Ibid.

which cannot but spread out from each individual department to all departments. By spreading in this way, such planning helps strengthen integration, of which it is itself a manifestation in the first place. Decree 69-157 COR dated 11 August 1969, which officially recognized the establishment of IPAR, clearly brings out this interrelation between the goals of the project, an interrelation which makes the sector for 'research applied to the production of new materials' the key sector on which all planned activities depend. Unlike the decree instituting ENIR, this decree recognizes the four objectives and the four functions in terms of structure and organization. Instead of a mere indication of the four functions, it is now possible to give a proper organization chart of the new institution. The progress made since the plan of operations and the improvement over ENIR thus become evident. (See chart on page 39.)

After the changes introduced in October 1968, the plan of operation, it is true, did explicitly indicate as its objectives the training of a new type of teacher, large-scale in-service training and participation of primary school curricula and methods and the production of new teaching aids in the reform, but the tasks involved in this reform and this production were only briefly indicated and nothing was said about their organization and management. The schedule of operations was equally vague. Clearly, the idea of integrating the objectives, which is basic to the organization of IPAR, had not yet prevailed. It might be added in conclusion that in the same natural course of events IPAR gradually came to take over all such material aspects of the implementation and extension of the reform as, for example, the production of textbooks for pupils, classroom furniture and the building of training schools for assistant primary teachers. There was no question of its supplanting the manufacturer, the architect or the contractor, but it became almost as a matter of course, a think-tank seeking possible solutions to such problems and submitting them to the government. The explanation given so far may not be entirely satisfactory, neither has the development of this new phase on innovation been made perfectly clear, for attention has not yet been focused on what is really new in this phase of innovation, on something so radically new that it constitutes a new departure for which it is difficult to find a parallel elsewhere. The analyses on which the description and explanation of the process leading from ENIR to IPAR are based are not really conclusive unless some latent postulate is assumed. Although these analyses would still be true, they would cease to


DIRECTOR
ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
Bursar's office
Accounts department
Secretariat
Typing and duplicating pool
Infirmary
Garage
TEACHER TRAINING (Asst. Director)
REFORM (Asst. Director)
IN-SERVICE (Asst. Director)
PRODUCTION (Asst. Director)
PROCTORS OFFICE
1 Proctor
his assistant
2 Surveillants
TEACHING STAFF
18 Cameroon nationals
3 Unesco experts
1 Member of French Co-operation service
3 Peace Corps vols.
THREE CLASSES OF 70 TRAINEE TEACHRS.
CONTINUOUS ELABO - RATION OF CURRICULA
T.T.
PRIMARY SCHOOLS T.T. Dept. and Teaching
Material organization and organization of teaching
Supervision and further training (inspection)
CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE
OBJECTIVES - COSTS PLANNING
RURALIZATION IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS
• Mathematics
• French
• Environmental studies and practical work
• Other subjects
T.T. REFORM
IPAR T.T. Dept.
• French
• ENIA-CRR Curricula
PLANNING : Costs and assistance (IBRD, Unicef)
ORG. and SUPERVISION OF ENIA -CRR
• Objectives, curricula and methods
• Preparation of aids and in-service T.T.
• Visits to institutions
ENIA-CRR STAFF TRAIN- ING CENTRE
• Training of 53 teachers in two years
• Training and further training of the 8 heads
CENTRE FOR CORRE- SPONDENCE AND RADIO COURSES
• Preparation of prog. Central filing system
• Supervision of regional centres
CENTRAL BRIEFING : ANNUAL SEMINARS
• for regional and dept. inspectors and private school authorities (100 participants , 12 days)
• for heads of schools (State and private) (3 seminars with 70 partici- pants)
• for teachers
Textbook ILLUSTRATION
• Art work
• Photography
PRINTING (all textbooks)
• Composition
• Montage
• Engraving
• Offset
• Assembling
• Finishing
FLOCKING and SILK-SCREEN PRINTING
• Flocking of language cut-outs
• Silk-screen printing of pictures and maps
AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS
• Photograph library (geography and economics)
• Production of educational films
• Radio broadcasts
• Travelling cinemas
• CCTV

be sufficient if, having identified this postulate, one then realized that it was far from being self-evident. We may indeed agree that it was inevitable, in logic and in fact, that innovation in teacher training would sooner or later lead also to research and production departments being set up without it being self-evident that those important functions would just as inevitably be assigned to one and the same institution, which would divide the responsibilities between its different assistant directors, for integration of objectives does not necessarily imply integration of the various services responsible for attaining them within a single institution. The task looks complex and comprises operations which are so diverse and which, because of their interdependence, call so much for implementation by stages, that one might well, on the contrary, hesitate to entrust it entirely to a single institution.

Yet this is what has happened in Cameroon up to the time of writing (late 1972-early 1973), i.e. throughout the period 1967-1972, which may now be regarded as decisive for the future of the project. Has there ever been an example of a reform so radical and so extensive, changing the aims and purposes of the whole of basic education, and through it of education as a whole, placed entirely in the hands of an institute in which the directorial function, itself in the hands of two men, the National Director and the international expert (Chief Technical Adviser), plays a determining part? There is no doubt that the means employed to achieve the aims are just as much an innovation as the aims themselves.

That this is a good thing is also beyond doubt. The facts speak for themselves. After sitting from November 1967 to February 1968, the National Commission on Curricula held no further meetings. Its task was in any case limited to work out as quickly as possible a teacher training course on the basis of the equally rapid work of a Unesco Commission. Furthermore, far from cutting down and changing the traditional curricula, the board added to them without them making any substantial changes even accentuating, by greater compartmentalization, some of the features most in contradiction with the reform which had been decided on. The plan was drawn up and it was announced that a National Reform Commission would be established. However, by 1972 it had still not been set up and it has still not yet met. Back in 1968, in the time of ENIR, as it was realized that the aims, curricula and methods of the reform of primary education would have to be defined in technical terms, it had been decided that a centre for applied research should be

established as an offshoot of the Education Bureau (*Bureau pédagogique*), but its role was a minor, insignificant one. It is also true that the inspectors were apprised of the situation regarding the reform and asked to discuss it at their annual seminar, but in the absence of any system of participation no discussion could ever be continued beyond the few days of the seminar and there was no effective collaboration which might make it possible to arrive at constructive proposals and to make a real contribution to the elaboration and application of the project. Nothing is more revealing than the terms in which the first request was addressed to UNDP. Previous reference to this has shown how, in 1967, although it was realized that a reform of primary education involving curricula and methods and calling for research and the production of documents and other material was necessary, emphasis was laid on teacher training and its new institutional framework, while the other functions merited only brief references, without supporting services being even mentioned. Similarly, the request simply recommends participation in research and production without specifying what form it should take or who the participating parties should be. Concerning curriculum reform, it merely stated that it would be 'the joint task of all the educational bodies and institutions existing in Cameroon'.[1] Concerning production, the recommendations are more explicit: 'Teachers on the staff of ENI or other teacher training institutions, inspectors and educational advisers will be invited to collaborate with the Education Bureau in preparing the manuscripts of textbooks for the teaching of the various subjects at all levels'. However, in addition to the fact that at the time only prototype textbooks and teaching materials were involved, this invitation was as general as it was cordial; no provision was made for any organized, institutional framework for this task, which calls for particular care in its conception and co-ordination in its execution because of the specific requirements and needs it must satisfy. How different this is from all the documents, including the official ones, which describe the aims and organization of IPAR, in which as has already been seen, not only are all the functions - not just that of pre-service training - analysed at length and specifically assigned to departments specially organized within the institute, but they are expressly and formally recognized as functions belonging to the institute, while not a word is said about participation by other bodies or other employees of the Ministry of Education.

1. *Request* ...., p. 31.

This by no means implies that IPAR could act as it pleased, without instructions and without supervision, as a sovereign body. First of all, it has over it the Higher Council of National Education (*Conseil supérieur de l'éducation nationale*). It is true that this Council, established on 28 October 1963, before the establishment of IPAR and before the reform, was not intended to undertake or even supervise educational research and studies. It has as its main task to be 'responsible for the planned development of education in Cameroon' (Article 2 of the decree whereby it was set up). In fact, the Council does not exercise any real supervision, but its function gives some idea of the authority to which IPAR will be answerable. IPAR does not undertake or even plan any action, without prior consultation with and permission of the administrative and political authorities. Until November 1972, its Director was Mr. Tsala, who was also Director of Primary Education and Teacher Training. Before the United Republic of Cameroon was constituted, IPAR came under the jurisdiction of the Prime Minister of East Cameroon via the Secretariat of State for Primary Education. Subsequently, it was attached to the Ministry of Education and we have already seen how closely the Minister, Mr. Mongo Soo, followed IPAR's activities and made sure that nothing was done without his being consulted and giving his approval. The corollary to the diversity and scope of IPAR's tasks and the extent of its responsibilities was that it was directly answerable to the political authority — these two features indeed constituted the originality of IPAR and were to exert a strong influence on the nature and the force of the innovating process. IPAR plans and acts, but between the planning and the action comes the decision and this is made directly at the highest political level. However, the decision itself is an expression of will. As in other countries, the supreme political will was to be the main driving force for innovation in Cameroon and it was first of all owing to the constancy with which the policy was followed that innovation was able to make headway in the administrative procedures, to become a reality to extend further and further and penetrate more and more deeply. This resolute adherence to a chosen path, this fidelity to a policy, imply not only care and supervision, but support and in fact IPAR and its work have never lacked the support of the President and the Government. The President of the Republic, in a speech introducing the third five-year plan for development to the National Assembly on 11 August 1971, mentioned IPAR and - a signal favour - made a point of explicitly supporting its activities and its aims. 'Also as part of its action

on behalf of rural areas, the Government has undertaken the ruralization of education and IPAR is now devoting itself, already with success, to training the teachers needed for this ruralized education. The aim is to give the young people who go through this education an inclination to work on the land, a sense of the dignity of that work and an opportunity of living better in the villages and satisfying many of their aspirations. This is one way of combating the drift to the cities effectively.'[1] Before then, lending his personal prestige and his authority to IPAR, he presided at its first graduation ceremony on 13 June 1970. In the speech he made on that occasion he did not hesitate to defend the ruralization of education, at the same time endeavouring to contribute to a wider understanding of its real significance. 'It is paradoxical that we are short of people fully competent in the small trades at a time when we are experiencing a runaway increase in population. It is depressing to see that agriculture, the backbone of our economy, is looked down upon by the younger generation and left to old people who know nothing about modern farming techniques. Is it not the task of education to turn the minds of girls and boys towards these trades and towards agriculture?'[2] Further on in his address the President added, 'That is why at the Garova Congress I particularly stressed the necessity of the ruralization of education'.[3] However, he was very careful to go on to explain: 'When I refer to the ruralization of education I do not mean a cut-price education for peasants' children. In view of the UNC Party and the Government, ruralization means the adaptation of education to the actual conditions of this country, which is essentially agricultural,'[4] he concluded:'It is therefore understandable that we were prepared to invest considerable amounts for the purpose of establishing this Institute of Rurally Oriented Applied Education'[5]. In the various conflicts which have arisen or which have threatened to arise between it and other bodies, the Government has always taken the view that a choice had to be made and, without necessarily taking

1. Address by H.E. El Adj Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of the Federal Republic of Cameroon, on presenting the third five-year development plan to the National Assembly on 11 August 1971. (Page 7 of the document.) It will be recalled that the United Republic of Cameroon was not constituted until 1972.
2. IPAR graduation ceremony. Address by the Head of State, Yaoundé, 13 June 1970. (Page 2 of the document)
3. Ibid., p. 3.
4. Ibid., p. 3.
5. Ibid., p. 4.

sides on the question of substance, it has, as far as we know, decided in favour of IPAR.

This attitude, this unswerving line, these choices, give us to believe that entrusting a single institution, IPAR, with innovation is, on the part of the Government, a deliberate strategy the origins of, and reasons for, which we should investigate. However, it is probable that this is not altogether the case and that other factors contributed to bringing about this situation. While it is not easy to formulate and test hypotheses in this connexion, there is nothing to prevent one from doing so, indeed it is essential. Be that as it may, the situation thus brought about was, on the one hand, spontaneously to steer the innovating process in a certain direction and, on the other, was inevitably to involve further choices and decisions which would lead the Government to adopt a particular strategy. For this reason the innovating process must first be observed from the standpoint of government action. This was to be of great importance and was largely to determine the way in which IPAR itself would act. However, IPAR was left considerable latitude, which is why, at the next stage, we propose to examine what the development of innovation was to owe to IPAR's strategy and its action. Finally, it should not be forgotten that the fate of innovation depends ultimately on the training given by the teachers to their pupils. In other words, let us remember that, whatever the degree of novelty of the media employed, the genuineness, the scale and the success of the innovation are finally to be judged on its capacity to achieve the new aims set for elementary education. For this reason, we shall, at a third stage, consider the way in which elementary education was expected to play its part, i.e. the methods, the curricula and the lessons which IPAR was to design and produce for the teacher and the way in which the latter was required to use them.

## III. The Government's rôle and strategy in the development of innovation

There is no doubt that the establishment of IPAR with the tasks and powers allotted to it, resulted from a deliberate government choice and hence from a strategy of innovation. There was nothing, in fact, to prevent the government from establishing a National Reform Commission earlier, part of whose activities would have led to the formation of IPAR, which would then have been subordinate to the commission. Similarly, the government would have encouraged the development of the Applied Research Centre or the Education Bureau, leaving IPAR only the task of training teachers in the use of the documents produced and on other aspects of education. As the government had all the necessary powers in this field, there was nothing to prevent it either from establishing the Governing Board of IPAR and in particular getting it functioning more rapidly so that it could hold frequent meetings.[1] We shall try to explain why it did not do this, basing our theories wherever possible, on arguments from analysis or by evidence gathered during our field survey. We shall see subsequently what unavoidable consequences this had for the government, how far it learnt from them and how far also it did or did not try to put what it learnt into effect. Each of these attitudes is, in fact, of great importance for a subsequent understanding of the background against which IPAR's activities took place and the strategy it employed to try to ensure the success of these activities.

Conscious of the scope and importance of the operation, of the difficulties it presented and of the resistance or misgivings which it aroused and which would inevitably have been magnified if the problem had been submitted to unwieldy assemblies, the government seems to have opted for simplicity and effectiveness in order to be more certain of rapid progress.

Despite the support of the Union nationale camerounaise (UNC) and speeches by the President of the Republic, there is no doubt

1. The Governing Board of IPAR was established by Decree dated 11 August 1969, and met for the first time on 20 and 21 June 1972.

that university people and, more generally, those who could be called the literate classes continued to be wary. This largely was due to the choice of the word 'ruralization' to the new education. It was doubtless used on purpose to show that there had been a break with the past to give a vigorous emphasis to the change of direction and to give a clear definition of this direction. From the point of view of the process of innovation it is important to note how accepted ideas and the established connotations of a word can be so persistent as to be a hindrance even to a movement the objectives of which have been clearly defined. Where those responsible for education are concerned, particularly regional and *département* inspectors, misgivings turned quite openly into more direct and more active resistance. They were better informed, however, since they received precise information at the annual seminars[1]. They therefore did not challenge the objectives and would accept the 'ruralization of education' if this was nothing more than the best way of achieving these objectives, but this was precisely the point about which they were dubious. They were to repeat over and over again that at the first seminar their acceptance went no further than this and that thereafter, as responsible citizens and conscientious civil servants, they bowed to the political will.

It must be admitted that they have some excuse. We saw, in fact, that the initial proposals of the National Commission on Curricula led, in point of fact, to the curricula being over-burdened. These were subsequently lightened and genuinely transformed so that one finds on the one hand the basic subjects in a new guise, e.g.: modern mathematics and radically changed methods for reading and, more generally, French; and, on the other hand, the introduction of manual work directly linked with handicrafts and work in gardens and fields. As they could not see very clearly what connexion there was between the new methods in mathematics and languages and the objectives, the inspectors challenged their too sudden and unduly risky adoption[2]. Nor could they see how environmental studies contributed to subject integration. Equally unclear about the connexion between these subjects and manual work, they saw manual work as something separate and as a craft and agricultural training given too early and in too narrow a way[3].

1. Starting with the seminar in 1968.
2. Report of the 1968 seminar.
3. Ibid.

It is nevertheless likely that this misunderstanding and rejection were not simply due to the fact that ENIR and subsequently IPAR, had not yet made sufficient headway, or to shortcomings in the way their work had been presented. The inspectors instinctively sensed that a challenge to traditional education cast doubts upon their own role. They are not always equally ready to make the effort to update their knowledge, nor, perhaps, are they offered all the facilities for doing so. In-service training is nevertheless not so much the chance of saving their jobs as the means of renewing them and giving them new meaning and interest. On the other hand, resistance was to be all the greater because for one reason or another, no real in-service training effort was made.

The government's attitude and its decision not to establish a National Reform Commission immediately are thus understandable. The fear of submitting a reform requiring unanimity and speedy application to an unwieldy assembly composed of very disparate elements was increased by the feeling that the - so to speak natural - participants, would be only too inclined, after their initial resistance or misgivings, to get bogged down in futile discussions or dilatory measures. By allowing participation instead of giving information, there was just a chance that the opposition, or at least the wariness, would give way to acceptance. That way, however, there was a risk of compromising or at any rate postponing for a long while a reform the depth and cohesion of which it was wished to maintain and the rapid introduction and development of which were also desired.

This choice, in any case, had great advantages for the government, and for innovation. Perhaps the government did not always see and want them, or see and want them in a very conscious and clear manner. These advantages did nonetheless assist, even if, on the other hand, they caused IPAR itself, as we shall see later[1], difficulties which it would not otherwise have encountered. It is obviously highly important, and in the best interests of coherence and efficiency, to centralize the functions of research, of production and of training, in other words, to bring together those responsible for laying down methods and preparing curricula and lessons, those who prepare documents in accordance with this research, and the teacher educators responsible for instruction in the use of all this educational material. It is clear that unity

1. See next chapter.

of ideas and their execution will be more easily achieved and progress from one to the other be more rapid if, as well as planners and executants being physically near to each other and having close links or even partly coinciding, there is direct, institutional subordination to the decision-making authority. This is all the more true if a dedicated and resolute representative of this authority is himself head of the establishment and in complete agreement with the Chief Technical Adviser. The fact that, during the first, decisive years of the project's launching and development, Mr. Tsala, IPAR's Director, was at the same time Director of Primary Education, counted for a good deal in the smooth running and progress of the activities of an establishment responsible for tasks which were as complex and weighty as they were important. The talk we had[1] with Mr. Mongo Soo, Minister of Education, was very enlightening in this respect and seems to confirm our argument. We shall summarize here, as faithfully as possible, the substance of this interview: 'The Government has opted for and laid down an education policy adapted to the requirements of individual and national development. It is holding to this policy. For its technical planning (at the level of the education system and of teaching) and for its practical execution, it has, with international assistance, set up a responsible institution and has put it in the hands of responsible men. It continues to give them its confidence and support as to ensure the maximum chance of success. This does not mean that all rumours are ignored and all objections rejected out of hand. Rumours are dispelled only when they are too insistent or serious enough to jeopardize the smooth running of the reform, and then clear explanations are asked for from those in charge of IPAR. As regards objections, the same men in charge are asked to extract from them anything that can be of use in furthering the reform, after a discussion reduced to the essential and pertinent points by means of fresh information and constant reiteration of the aims in view. These aims must not be questioned. There is no point in going further and stirring up or encouraging sterile agitation which only slows things down. Naturally, no cast-iron guarantees can be given of instant success, so that objection is meaningless and should not be made. We should let IPAR work, in other words, plan and create. The proof will be in the facts and facts always speak loudest. This, in any case, is the only proof

1. September 1972.

which the general public really looks for and the only one it can be sure to understand, particularly in Africa. That will be the time to judge and correct, and at this time will inevitably arrive. Meanwhile, we should leave people to do their work, helping them to the best of our ability. There is no point, therefore, in prematurely alerting and organizing majority opinion in connexion with a reform which, when the time comes, will be judged on results. As we shall show, the pattern which, to the Minister's way of thinking, implicitly governs the process of innovation aimed for is remarkably close to the one adopted, purposely or otherwise, by the directing staff of IPAR. This similarity and harmony have certainly influenced the way in which the process has in actual practice developed.

A general political choice and over-all fidelity to this policy do not mean, however, that a very clear and firm choice is always made of what the objectives should be nor that there is a constant desire to create and employ the resources whereby these objectives can become a reality. Nobody, in any case, could expect this to be so, especially when the authorities directly involved are those at the highest political level. (No great knowledge of political philosophy is required to understand this.) Our explanation of how IPAR actually came into being and was organized would therefore be incomplete if we did not take particular note of a will matching the will of the State, and an energy which translated into deeds and promoted in real circumstances a governmental will which, by its very nature, may sometimes have remained rather too general. In other words, IPAR was not only the product of circumstances and ministerial wishes. It was desired as well, by those, like the Director and the Chief Technical Adviser, who, right from the moment when ENIR was established, had committed themselves to the renewal of teacher training and the introduction of an education geared to the rural environment. It will, in any case, be appreciated that, having worked hard to formulate a project in which one believes - and nobody in Cameroon will even dream of refuting our testimony and denying the tribute we pay - one should be eager to see the project put into practice. Nor is it at all surprising that the conviction which inspired this work and the personal commitment which it required should lead to the desire also to be the person to make it a reality; and this desire can also tend to become a moral obligation if no individual or group seems ready and resolved to be responsible for certain operations without which others are doomed to failure and lose their meaning.

It only needs the highest authority in the land and his government to place their trust in those concerned and show their attachment to the reform, as actually happened, for the change to occur and the keen wish to become a burning desire. So far, the example of Cameroon has shown us the part played by the force of circumstances and the constraints of reality, their logical sequence and the importance of a political option and will in the birth and development of innovation. Nevertheless, and we find these factors in Cameroon as in all the examples we know of, the human factor, conviction and the deep commitment of men in key positions are important too.

The logic of the innovation process which we are analysing and describing required the political option to be backed up by a genuine political will, and this implied a government attentive to the needs of IPAR and attempting to predict the cost of these needs in order to be in a better position to satisfy them, or at least to size up and seek the means of satisfying them. It is clear from the interview he gave us that the Minister of Education was aware of this.

In this respect, however, we feel that better co-operation between the Education Ministry's planning department and IPAR would facilitate the reform and give it a greater chance of success. On the other hand, we feel that the government effort shows its coherence both as concerns the government's counterpart contribution and as concerns the replacement of international experts by Cameroonians. It is in any case too early to come to a final judgement and it is only to be expected that the problems should not be all settled. It would similarly be quite in conformity with the logic of this strategy for those in charge of administrative and financial affairs to grant IPAR the financial autonomy which the directing staff, the Chief Technical Adviser in particular, have been requesting for a long time. It was in any case to be expected that the government would try to obtain fresh international aid for IPAR which would enable it to carry out its work[1].

Finally, we must point out that the government has acknowledged in its action the logic of the reform and the characteristics of the country in which the reform is trying to take root. It was to be foreseen, in fact, that it would be impossible to 'ruralize'

1. We shall mention this and place it in the context of IPAR's activities in the next chapter.

primary education and at the same time maintain its unity whilst leaving the secondary education to which some of the pupils go after primary school unchanged. This is only possible provided a new meaning is given to ruralization, which must also apply, although differently from the way it does in the primary school, to the secondary school and, even beyond, to the whole of education. This is what the President of the Republic had in view and made quite clear in his address at the IPAR graduation ceremony when he said: 'It is obvious that this ruralization changes its name and content at each stage of the child's growth in the school environment'[1]. The President went on to define this content for primary and secondary levels[2]. As IPAR could not take on the research this involved unless it was asked to expand its tasks and its role still further, and this would have been impossible without fresh changes which might have induced institutional hypertrophy and made IPAR inoperative, it became necessary to envisage or to have recourse to other research centres and, consequently, to create a research co-ordination body. Thus the idea of a National Institute of Education *(Institut national d'éducation -INE)* arose. This was also how a draft request to the United Nations Development Programme for assistance in establishing a national institute of education in Cameroon came to be formulated in Yaoundé in December 1971. It was expected that the INE would be established in January or February 1973. It was, of course, impossible to think of this new institute without considering the question of its relations with IPAR. This is why their respective tasks and responsibilities were clearly laid down. The establishment of a national institute of education soon turned out to be all the more vital and urgent because the advent of the United Republic of Cameroon in 1972 gave a new form and urgency to a problem which the *Conseil supérieur de l'éducation nationale* had initially been specially designated and established to deal with (28 October 1963) and was no longer able to solve. Indeed, a political decision to set up the institute again made the force of circumstances more strongly felt and set in motion once again the logic of circumstances and institutions. The corollary to a unification of the country which respected the identity of the regions was the unification of the education system but with similar care to adapt education to the context fashioned

1. *Address*, op. cit., p. 3.
2. Ibid., p. 4.

by history and geography. In former West Cameroon, it was therefore going to be necessary to open an IPAR similar to but distinct from the IPAR in Yaoundé. At that point, however, it became necessary to set up a body to co-ordinate the two institutes' work, particularly in research and hence in production. This role fell, or rather should naturally have fallen, to the INE. All this was also very clearly laid down, in its presentation, this new task was closely linked with the first: 'The Cameroon Government has set in motion the process of reforming its education system by means of the Institute of Rurally Oriented Applied Education (IPAR) established in 1967 with UNDP/Unesco assistance. The aim of this project is a complete reshaping of *primary education in East Cameroon* in order that the system may be better adapted to actual social, economic and cultural conditions in the country. This activity is to be continued in *Western Cameroon* under a project identical to the IPAR project and for which the Cameroon Government has requested assistance from UNDP. Reform of the education and training system cannot be limited to the primary level alone. The education system is an integral whole and if one of its parts is modified the whole system is affected by the change. General and technical secondary education and higher education will have to take into account the considerable changes which will occur in the pupils' primary education after the introduction of the reform. It is therefore vital for Cameroon to have some instrument for reflection, research and co-ordination, making it possible to continue the activity started at primary level by IPAR, so that the reform which has been begun can be extended to the whole of the Federation at all levels and in all types of education. The government's wish is for a complete reshaping of the whole education system, and each level of this system must provide the kind of personnel the country needs for its economic growth and social progress. This is the context in which the establishment of the *National Institute of Education*, for which the Cameroon Government is requesting assistance from UNDP should be viewed.'[1]

No analysis of the actual process of innovation, however, can rest on these predictions and these official documents. Although we have seen that events sometimes startlingly and irresistibly

1. *Draft request for assistance from the United Nations Development Programme to set up a National Institute of Education in Cameroon*, p. 56, the last page of the document. Underlined in the text.

follow the logical course, they can also fail to comply with it. In the present case, it is assumed, perhaps rather hastily, that the innovation process begun in Yaoundé and marked by a critical event which was the establishment and development of IPAR, will be able to carry former West Cameroon along with it and bring about the establishment and development, without difficulty, of a second IPAR in Buéa. This eventuality is all the more open to doubt in view of the original nature of the process and the special circumstances which made IPAR's establishment possible and explain its development. The two situations are different and consequently the transfer is not an automatic process. This has in any case already been sensed, otherwise the question would not have arisen as to whether that part of IPAR which will remain in Yaoundé[1], namely its Department of Research (or Reform), will be the only primary education research department for the whole of the United Republic of Cameroon, even if it naturally includes staff from former East Cameroon. The question is all the more pertinent because it is raised by those very factors which constitute IPAR's originality, its true nature and its principal function. It should not be forgotten, indeed, that the Department of Research is also called the Department of Reform and that it is responsible not only for planning the reform from the aspect of its general educational aims but also for working out every practical detail and facility (lessons and teaching materials), and applying it not only at the level of pre-service teacher training but also, through production and in-service training, at all levels and all stages of education. Although they have a similar structure and by and large share the same objectives, the danger cannot be ruled out that the two IPARs will in fact follow different or even divergent paths. The INE can only help co-ordinate what is capable of being co-ordinated, i.e. based on a sufficient consensus and sufficient similarity in the paths being followed, unless it takes it upon itself to steer their activities and not just to co-ordinate them. Here, however, despite the official documents quoted, a second question arises and there is room for anxiety on another score. In fact, as stated in the President's speech of 13 June 1970[2], a reform which goes as deep as this is bound to be an across-the-board reform. Despite the necessary differences according to the level of education,

1. When new premises have been built.
2. Address by the Head of State at the IPAR graduation ceremony, Yaoundé, 13 June 1970.

differences which were clearly emphasized by the President of the Republic, ruralization must cover the whole of education and it is unthinkable that it should be planned and applied in different ways at different levels. The reform of primary education and the work which goes with it involve secondary education and *vice versa*, especially, as is the case, if they embrace both general objectives and the smallest details. This is why, despite the apparent clarity and common sense of the official documents, we feel that the co-existence of IPAR and INE in their present or planned form might reveal or even create difficulties instead of facilitating and extending the process of innovation. At the time of writing, the IPAR in Buéa has not been established and there has been no decision about the particular contribution it would make to the work of reform nor about the centralization of research relating to this reform in the corresponding department of IPAR in Yaoundé, whilst INE has only just been established. In order to analyse the real process of innovation and perhaps to predict its future, it will be of interest to observe the course of events, particularly decisions or government strategy brought to bear on these questions.

We should add that the government strategy or policy for educational innovation cannot stop short at school problems or even at the problems of education in general, i.e. considered under all its actual or possible forms. There is ample evidence that the government is aware of this too. The problem here has two aspects which must be matched by two complementary aspects of a policy involving Cameroonians at two points in their lives. With regard to the first of these aspects, the government does not seem to have laid down firm lines of action and its hesitation must be taken into account; if it were to defer its decision for too long, it is likely that the reform would not attain its objectives and the innovation would be jeopardized. For anyone analysing the innovation process, the situation is interesting in that it demonstrates that the process is difficult to carry through, at least when the novelty is sufficiently great to involve the objectives, without the question of the structures of education being raised. It will be noted that, so far, this question has not been explicitly raised. It cannot, however, be avoided. Since there is no dichotomy between reality and rationality, the former having its own logic which it can impose on all those genuinely involved in action, it is not surprising to find the question raised with clarity and insistence by the Chief Technical Adviser. It is not surprising, either, as

we shall see later[1], that in adopting a certain 'model' and in thus resolutely situating his activity within a certain structure, the Technical Adviser has marked out the limits of innovation.

To revert, however, to the problem which concerns us for the time being, let us suppose that the present organization of primary education is going to be kept, particularly the six-year course. Although ruralized education prepares the Cameroonian schoolchild to fit into his environment and to transform it, it is by no means an agricultural education. Furthermore, when he leaves primary school the child is too young to start his working life, hence the need to develop post-primary education and training in order to offer the young Cameroonian the facilities he needs not only so that he does not lose the benefit of the education already received but also so that he may turn it to account in active, working life. This essential concern could be seen in the directives for the preparation of the third five-year plan (1971-1976). This was also why the Ministry of Education launched a project for 'cultural and community action zones' (ZACCs) and how the idea of 'integrated priority action zones' (ZAPIs) came into being, the aim of which was to improve agricultural production. Difficulties nevetheless abounded. Although a budgetary appropriation was indeed made for the ZACCs, they had, on the other hand, to produce enough to become financially self-supporting, and only 19 ZACCs are functioning, with 50 young people in each. The situation can best be described by quoting the draft request for assistance to establish a National Institute of Education: 'Various ventures or activities are being conducted in this field: rural community organization (mobile teams); a civic and professional training centre; rural craftwork departments; cultural and community action zones (ZACCs); and integrated priority action zones (ZAPIs). This activity is sporadic and scattered, however, and is organized without real co-ordination by different ministerial departments (Ministry of Education, Culture and Vocational Training, Ministry of Youth and Sport, Secretariat of State for Rural Development) or by private bodies. It affects only a very limited number of young people. Improvement of existing youth centres and the establishment of numerous other centres is provided for under the third five-year plan, but the still-unsolved basic problem is to define, in the light of joint

1. Chapters IV and V.

studies, the specific aims, content and methods of clearly demarcated ventures in extracurricular or non-formal education[1].

Nevertheless, instead of keeping the present structures and the six-year school, it could also be decided to change them as suggested by the Chief Technical Adviser, and this would mean tackling a problem which undoubtedly holds the key to the future and success of the reform. Innovation can perhaps best be achieved by developing it to the full. If the government does not have the necessary financial means to introduce mass education lasting 10 or 11 years, it would be desirable to find temporary solutions better adapted than the present structures. 'For example, a basic four or five-year course could be introduced, to which all would be gradually admitted (7-11 or 7-12 years of age). At the end of this course, the ablest pupils would go on to secondary education whilst average pupils would follow an upper primary course lasting four years (12-16) preparing them for rural life, and the weakest (but literate) pupils would leave school. A solution of this kind would make it possible:

to teach all young people to read and write;

to give a practical education to the gifted youngsters who will become development leaders in the field and rapidly take up key positions among young literates to give their work a proper lead;

to prepare an élite for secondary, technical and agricultural education and, beyond that, for higher education.'[2]

The Chief Technical Adviser, Mr. Becquelin, adds straight away that he is putting forward only one working hypothesis among others and that it would be advisable 'to make a careful study of its repercussions at social group level and to evaluate its cost'[3] IPAR is not equipped to do this but 'INE should, on the other hand, undertake this work as from 1973 for the information of the government. *If the government were able to make its decisions* by 1974, this would greatly facilitate prediction of primary curricula at IPAR as regards the final grades, where the syllabus depends on the length of studies'[4].

Besides their interest from the point of view of the way in which innovation will be introduced into education in Cameroon, the two hypotheses put forward (e.g. definition and consolidation of

1. Op. cit., para. 38, p. 15.
2. *Interim report. 1967-1972* (CMR.11-IPAR, Yaoundé, 30 June 1972). J. Becquelin, Chief Technical Adviser. p. 37.
3. Op. cit., p. 37.
4. Ibid., p. 38. Our italics.

the ZACCs and ZAPIs, or changes in the elementary education course) have the equal merit of stressing the vital importance and urgency of a *decision* which is first and foremost the responsibility of the economic and political authorities and without which the process of innovation is in danger of being halted and the reform itself, poised for completion though it is, gravely compromised. It is, in any case, not even certain that despite all the educational and economic studies which have been made to brief it, the government will be in any better position to come to a decision. It is nevetherless the government's responsibility to order these studies and then to come to a decision regarding its strategy. Such decisions will not always be of equal importance, for in some cases the educational or economic argument will be quite distinct from and will override the political argument, while in other cases the reverse will be true. The need for them occurs frequently, and in particular in the case we are studying as concerns the placement of IPAR graduates for example, and as concerns the establishment of 300 classes in 1973 in which, for the first time and in the first year of primary education, the reform will be put into practice.

The definition of the facilities to cater for pupils educated in the ruralized school is wider than the one given above. What use would it be to train young Cameroonians intellectually, mentally and technically for the development of the rural world if economic and social changes were not simultaneously made in that world in order to give the younger people the facilities they needed and the prospect of seeing their work bear fruit? This, at least, would enable them to envisage not only a better life but, above all, a life in which they could actually play the active role expected of them. It is clear that, while education is a powerful factor in developmnet, it must still be able to develop itself, and conditions for better employment must be provided for those it trains. This is the second consideration in the light of which government strategy and policy for educational innovation must be envisaged. Although the conditions just mentioned have nothing to do with teaching and the education system, they are nonetheless just as decisive, and perhaps even more so, for the completion of the innovation process and the future of the reform. What, indeed, would become of the reform if, deprived of the opportunity and the means to make use of their real knowledge, young Cameroonians were to feel, even mistakenly, that because of ruralized education they had lost their chance to find well-paid work in offices and a better

life in the town? This twofold frustration would not only be the death of the current innovation but would gravely prejudice any fresh attempt to bring in another reform. The government is well aware of this danger. Although the statement by President Ahidjo on the occasion of the submission of the third five-year plan to the National Assembly makes mention of IPAR and its objectives, it also stresses the need to establish the economic and social conditions which are the prerequisite of rural development and for which the new education is doubtlessly a necessary but not a sufficient condition. Of course, and the President's statement is careful not to forget it, it is impossible to establish all the favourable conditions immediately and easily and what is more, some of them are in practice almost completely beyond control: 'The balance of trade for 1970-1971 thus ended with a considerable deficit. In fact, through a combination of unfavourable circumstances which included lower prices for raw materials, particularly for cacao and its by-products, as well as exceptionally poor climatic conditions, our exports dropped in value by 6.5% whilst over the same period our imports, mainly of capital goods, semi-finished products and materials mainly included for industry, increased in value by 15.5%'[1]. What good would it be to train a young Cameroonian in such a way that he could double cacao production if at the same time there were to be a fall in his income? There is no doubt about the danger for the future of the reform, and unfortunately it is not in the government's power to remove it completely. It must at least employ all the means in its power to avoid such dangers. It must, for example, spare young farmers the need either to get ruinously into debt or to live too wretched a life for too long in order to obtain the land and tools which they know to be necessary for the purposes of an agriculture in which high productivity is essential to economic viability. 'To reach these objectives, it was obviously necessary to raise farmers' production and adopt modern production methods at all levels. These methods, however, require an outlay which is often beyond the farmer's means. In these circumstances, the solution to the problem was to reorganize farm credit during the second plan'[2]. After enumerating the previous disadvantages of farm credit, President Ahidjo continued[3]: 'Faced with this situation and in accordance with the

1. *Address*, op. cit., p. 6.
2. Op. cit., p. 6.
3. Op. cit., p. 6.

objectives of the plan, the government has laid down a new farm credit policy which will soon be put into practice'.

The reform of farm credit is certainly not the only reform on which the fate of educational reform and the development of innovation ultimately depend. The Cameroon Government is conscious of this, however, and it is reassuring that the official statements we have quoted come immediately before the one about IPAR. This shows that there is not only an awareness of the problem but that a solution is being sought, i.e. that there is what we have called a 'strategy of innovation'. It is nevertheless not sufficient to avoid the 'educational illusion' in order to solve the economic problem of educational development. Not only is education itself powerless to bring about economic development but if it is to become one of the necessary factors for development, it needs massive investment, which the present resources of the country can hardly provide. The Cameroon Government has thus sought to provide for IPAR and to channel towards the reform the greatest possible amount of international and bilateral aid. IPAR has helped considerably through its activities and projects to convince those from whom assistance was requested that the educational innovation would be the beginning of a new economic and social era.

## IV. IPAR as an instrument of innovation: its policy, strategy and activities

*Information*

The government is initially responsible for innovation because it defines the objectives, provides the finances and selects the principal instrument. The instrument, in this case IPAR, has however a very important part to play. Having so far stressed the decisive importance of political responsibility and political decision, we shall now try to demonstrate the extent to which the fate of innovation, its development, and the ease with which it proceeds depend on administrative, technical and educational responsibility, choice and decision.

They do so all the more in Cameroon because the government, at least for the first few and most decisive years, is handing over responsibility entirely, or almost entirely to IPAR. As the Institute has been entrusted with such numerous, vast and far-reaching tasks right from the beginning of the reform, it has a great margin of freedom in planning and execution. It is this freedom that both permits and demands a strategy. The strategy would nevertheless lose in importance if freedom were total and means unlimited. The tasks to be tackled are not only numerous and extensive but, for this very reason, onerous and complex. Furthermore, by making IPAR the essential instrument of the reform, the government is creating a situation and putting the Institute's activities in a context which it is not easy to accept. What in some respects might present advantages and facilities for government and IPAR alike, could, in other respects, be a source of difficulties. What, in the first analysis, may appear to guarantee the smooth development of the reform may, in actual fact, turn out to be fraught with pitfalls. In this respect, the present chapter will frequently be seen to counterpoint the preceding one, in that where the government could see a solution, IPAR encounters an obstacle. Herein lies the importance and interest of this re-examination: it is by seeing how these obstacles are overcome - unless they are so intractable that they divert attention from the objective - that we shall both be able to see new developments in innovation and analyse it more closely.

We shall look first of all at the essential problem, the one which placed the most constraints upon IPAR, but which, in one way or another and with varying degrees of success, it was obliged to solve, and which was going to force it straight away to choose and outline its course of action.

For an operation with such aims and of such scope, the logical and in a sense *rational order* would have been to begin by research to see how ruralized primary education could take the place of existing primary education. In Cameroon, this work would have begun with a definition of objectives, have continued with the working out of curricula and methods, and then gone on to preparation of lessons and the production of prototype teaching material. The work would have been done by a continuous process of research and development, successive experiments and evaluations making possible the gradual construction of a generally applicable model. After a while, on the basis of the previous research, it would have been possible to plan and to try out the pre-service and in-service training to be given to teachers for ruralized education. Simultaneously, on the basis of the prototypes made for primary education, all the documents and materials would have been produced for all aspects of training. Lastly, this training would have been given whilst the textbooks and materials for pupils and the premises, tools and furnishings required by ruralized education[1] were simultaneously going into regular production.

The advantages of bringing the research, production and training sectors together and establishing links between them would only materialize if these relations were organized according to a timetable and planned against a background of 'research and development' and if each sector had enough specialized staff to ensure both the necessary division of labour and genuine, fruitful co-operation.

In Cameroon, these conditions were far from being present and there were many constraining factors which meant that the actual order was, and still is, far removed from this rational order. In fact, for the reasons which we pointed out and analysed in the preceding chapters, *everything* had to be done at once, rapidly and together. The trainee teachers who were already being recruited had to be trained, the in-service training of teachers and instructors had to begin as soon as possible, documents and materials which were going to be needed had to be produced as soon as possible

1. A description and explanation of these will be given in the following chapter.

and, last but not least, an attempt had to be made without delay to give substance to the objectives of the reform in the form of materials, curricula, methods and lessons by which the objectives could be reached and the reform carried out. One difficulty was that although IPAR had several functions and departments, it was far less well endowed in staff, funds, facilities and premises.

When the first intake of students entered ENIR in November 1967, their purpose was naturally to be trained straight away. The new training college's first day was also the first day of the new-style training. For this new training, the first day was just like any other. The student would not wait, he was there and had to be catered for. Before beginning, however, and in order to be able really to get under way, research must familiarize itself with its tools, prepare the ground on which they are to be used and indeed must often make its own tools. IPAR thus found itself in the unusual and difficult position of having to follow the normal order backwards. Teachers had to be trained although their training syllabus was not really ready. How, indeed, could it have been, since it had to be planned on the basis of the reform and the new primary school curricula, which had not yet been drawn up? As these could not be drawn up in a hurry, there was no alternative but to decide to prepare and use, however temporarily, the teacher training syllabus even before the curriculum which the teachers were going to use in their classes had been worked out. In the order in which institutions have been established, both the cause and the effect of the reversal of the order of operations can be seen. The National Reform Commission provided for by the third five-year plan (1971-1976) has not yet met and there is a danger that it will be convened when the reform which it was supposed to be planning has already been partly introduced. At least it will still be able to give serious consideration to secondary education, but then the risk is that the National Institute of Education, which is responsible for co-ordinating all research at the various levels of education, will be working while the bodies responsible for doing the research have not yet been designated. Similarly, the Governing Body of IPAR was not appointed and did not meet until a long time after the Institute had been established. The reason for this curious timing of events was mentioned in the previous chapters: although it had some advantages, there were disadvantages too and they were by no means negligible. It was to overcome these in the best possible way that IPAR had to work out its strategy. We shall describe it in general terms before seeing it

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in action in each department and before seeing how it is translated there into original measures and approaches, without which there would doubtless be no reform and no innovation.

*General strategy*

IPAR's strategy has consisted of recognizing the difficulties it had to face, not believing or claiming that it would achieve its aims unfailingly and immediately but nevertheless keeping them always in view. This being the case, imperfection was inevitable but it would not exclude achievements which were all the more valuable because they could be subsequently improved, and all the more worthwhile because they would establish a new and irreversible state of affairs and, in particular, a new and irreversible trend. IPAR knows well enough that, in certain cases, 'l'idéal est une manière de bouder'[1], and that an informed yet essentially uncompromising pragmatism is perhaps the only way in which the rational order and the actual circumstances can be reconciled. This does not mean that this situation never has its negative results or that these can always be successfully countered. Nor does it mean that their direction, influence and scope pose no threat to innovation. The tireless activity and constant vigilance of IPAR can be explained, on the contrary, by the feeling that although the wager has been accepted, the game, on the other hand, has not been played and still less won in advance. In fact, IPAR constantly felt, and probably still feels, that it is fighting against time and events and was and is convinced that it must hold out long enough to get back on course and slowly but surely re-establish the rational order of operations, using its initial achievements as a basis. Our task is to watch these large-scale manoeuvres closely and to collect any information which might help form a judgement and permit the best possible assessment of their chances.

We shall now try to identify problems and consider their solutions at the level of the Institute as a whole and its general functioning. We shall then make a rapid analysis of the working relations within IPAR and its relations with the outside world.

It is unfortunately easy enough to confirm the fears we expressed above. The advantages of bringing planners and practitioners, researchers and teacher educators together within one and the same institution have certainly remained in part valid and will remain so

1. Paul Valéry

in the future. It is just as clear, however, that given the conditions and context described above, what in theory and in normal circumstances could have made for a favourable situation, frequently and particularly in the early days, caused hitches which to a certain extent would have been avoided if the various parts had remained separate.

We shall look, for example, at what happened between the Department of Teacher Training and the Department of Research. Two opposite but perfectly symmetrical phenomena appeared. The choice in the fact lay between two attitudes, neither of which was desirable. Research prospects and research work were so vast that it was easy for the researchers to be completely caught up in it instead of entering into a co-operation with the teaching staff which would not only have been productive but which was indispensible and for which IPAR's structure provided the best opportunities. Conversely, the teaching staff were in a hurry to prepare and give new lessons to the students who were there and had to be catered for, day in and day out, hour after hour, so that the teachers did not have the time - even if they had the inclination - to take an interest and a part in research. What was true of researchers and teachers was also true of researchers and producers and, more generally, of all the departments of IPAR. Physical proximity and administrative liaison did not prevent a most regrettable compartmentalization. That was only one aspect of things, however, and perhaps not the chief one. In fact, although the different functions are all equally important and urgent in themselves, the need for them does not appear equally strong in the actual situation. Seen from this point of view, some research can wait or be postponed, the researchers being more or less appeased with the pledge that it will start again tomorrow ... or as soon as possible. For partly similar and partly different reasons, this is not true of the teacher training and production departments. The former suffers from the constraints imposed by the presence of trainees who make constant demands on the teachers' time whilst their period of training cannot be extended. As to the production function, not only is the teaching side waiting for the material it turns out, but it must frequently keep to a timetable and within physical limits or run the risk of a complete disorganization of work or a disastrous increase in costs. Thus prompted by necessity, there will be a temptation, or even an inescapable need, to call on the assistance of other departments, including the research department. The researchers at IPAR, for instance, make no secret of the fact that they were reluctantly

obliged, particularly at the beginning, to devote more time to teaching than would have been desirable. Here it is clear that, far from ensuring co-operation in the distribution of work in all circumstances, physical proximity and administrative liaison can just as well go hand in hand with compartmentalization and isolation and can lead to a diversion of effort from the tasks in hand and to a certain confusion of functions. These faults are regrettable but are, nevertheless, restricted. It is, paradoxically, thanks to these faults and no less paradoxically thanks to the structure of the Institute which makes them possible, albeit unwittingly, that in spite of everything, laboriously, with difficulty and with all the crises and hitches imaginable, innovation, whatever its true extent[1], became an administrative fact and a practical raality in education. The dual functions of the National Director give rise to a similar but opposite paradox and make it possible to observe once more the curiously sinuous course of the innovation process. However great his energy and will-power, one person alone cannot adequately fill two such important and time-consuming functions[2]. The advantages of his doing so did not hide the real disadvantages. These are of two kinds and each is the corollary of the other. It is first of all quite clear that it affected the image which Cameroonian teachers and pupils have of the Director and that this slight erosion, or shall we say rather this relative fading of the image, has diminished the eagerness with which teachers and pupils alike believe in the objectives and work to achieve them. It is no less clear that the Chief Technical Adviser was induced to play a more important role than was planned, a fact which could be an obstacle, however slight, to the project. Nevertheless, as the Chief Technical Adviser never did anything without the advice and consent of his Director and as there was remarkable harmony between them, the dual nature of the directoral functions in fact made it possible for there to be an effective distribution of work and remarkable co-operation. Unlike what happened between the departments, there was a progression, as concerns the Director, from a theoretical amalgamation of functions to a certain division in actual practice. In both cases the change

1. We shall cover this topic in the next chapter.
2. i.e. Director of IPAR since it was established and, since 1970, Director of Primary Education.

might appear to be for the worse, and so indeed it is in certain respects. These, however, are only the roundabout means by which innovation seeks to find its place in the real world, and in the final analysis it made progress in this way. These means are nevertheless not always those which reason would have chosen. It needed the fortunate combination of two men, dissimilar though they were. While not denying that innovation sometimes needs such strokes of luck, it is a good opportunity to recall that it is impossible, we would even say fortunately impossible, to eliminate the role of man and human factors from this process.

We have just seen that, in the circumstances in which the project was launched, there were difficulties and disadvantages in bringing staff of the teaching research and production sides together. Even if these disadvantages were not enough to damage or bring to a halt the process of innovation, it was, nevertheless, only by careful consideration of them that it was possible to get a clear view of the change. We must take the same precautions and show the same care with regard to IPAR's relations with the outside world. However convenient and effective it may be for the authorities to have one main instrument to which the work can be entrusted for a given period, sufficiently long to allow freedom of action and freedom from disturbance, the situation is not so simple for IPAR. Whatever trust is placed in it and whatever responsibilities it has been given, it is quite clear that IPAR also needs external agents to support it, extend its activities and carry on its work. A problem arises at two levels and in two main directions. The first direction is that of the university or at least the main establishments of higher education. There appear to be several reasons for this. A reform of these dimensions cannot involve primary education, in fact, without gradually affecting the whole system of education, including higher education. It is therefore inconceivable for higher education to remain indifferent for long to what is afoot. If misunderstanding or indifference is not to become distrust or even hostility, it is advisable that there should not be too great a delay either in making information available in that direction or in suggesting conceptualization. It seems that there is a good way of preparing for this, which is particularly fortunate as it happens to be indispensible as well. There is, in fact, another reason for establishing links in this direction: if IPAR can base its action on more reliable knowledge, it will be all the more certain of achieving its objectives. It must therefore be

possible either to establish co-operation between IPAR and higher education or for IPAR to be able to attract and accept high-level research workers on to its staff. The first solution was not easy and will not be easy so long as the university remains the same. Despite its importance and value, this solution did not exclude the danger of further obstacles, and rather than add new difficulties to all those already existing, it has doubtless been found preferable to abandon the idea to a large extent, at least for the time being. The second solution was more easily applied but it needed joint action by the government and IPAR. This is the solution being tried[1].

This is not the level or direction, however, where we feel the problem to be the most acute. There must necessarily be intermediaries between IPAR in Yaoundé, with only a limited and overworked staff, and the mass of primary school teachers who are immediately and directly involved in the reform, particularly since in Cameroon the education system does not have sufficient access to channels of mass communication. Otherwise, the message will not get through. The intermediaries will avert this danger only in so far as they have close and good relations both with IPAR and teachers. This assumes that they have accepted the reform, but such acceptance will be difficult to obtain unless they themselves are well informed and, above all feel they are involved in it. We also know that however deep the reform has gone, it has so far avoided changing any part of the structures[2]. In the present education system, however, headmasters and, especially, the regional and *département* inspectors are not only the obvious and, to some extent, natural intermediaries, but are also obliged to play that part. Their very functions, in fact, and the authority which they wield exclude the possibility of anyone influencing the primary school teachers otherwise than with their consent and even through them. Moreover, as soon as IPAR graduates take up their posts, they will be placed

1. We do not feel it is being tried vigorously enough. It must nevertheless be admitted that the university's present spirit and form do not predispose it to follow this path.
2. We have already shown that reservations or misgivings in this respect were raising an initial, important problem on which the future of innovation could depend. See above.

under the educational and administrative control of the inspectors. It should be added, lastly, that not only are the inspectors mid-way on the line of communication between the central body and the teachers, but they are also, especially in an African country like Cameroon, mid-way on that line between the teachers and the central body. The government can impose its objectives on them and if need be make them keep silent. It can also entrust the most important features of the reform to IPAR. IPAR cannot act alone, however, and the structures being what they are, it had to bring the inspectors into its strategy whether it liked it or not. This was admittedly not easy. The fact that the National Reform Commission was not properly established and functioning meant, more generally speaking, the rejection or in any case the absence, outside IPAR, of any framework for participation. IPAR therefore had only two solutions. The first, as experience has shown, was certainly the most effective but, unfortunately, as experience has also shown, it was limited in scope. It meant giving inspectors posts in IPAR and even important posts like that of Assistant Director for Research, in other words, for the Reform[1]. Provided that there is initial agreement on the fundamental objectives, daily co-operation sweeps away many prejudices on both sides, leaving a common desire to find the best technical and educational solutions. Unfortunately, the inspectors as a whole are not involved in this co-operation. There was thus the second solution which was much more difficult and uncertain. This involved taking advantage of the annual seminar of inspectors to invite them to briefing sessions or to bring them together expressly for in-service training sessions. The briefing was misunderstood and did not go down well because it was only a substitute for participation, the need for which was made more acute by the habits acquired in their work and the image they had of it. As to the in-service training, the circumstances in which it took place were not conducive to the establishment of communication, nor to the creation of a sense of a need for training, nor, finally, to satisfying that need effectively and productively. It is unwise to speak of 'in-service training' to inspectors who, while recognizing the ends, have not yet accepted the means of the reform. It would be possible to make a detailed list of the unfavourable circumstances surrounding these attempts to bring the inspectors into the innovation process. Mention might also be made of the

1. See the organization chart on p. 107.

poor initial atmosphere and early prejudices, of ill will and of insufficient heed to objections, even if only to refute them better later. We shall not do this because we do not feel this to be the most important aspect and the real problem does not lie here. Whatever IIAR's attitude and procedures, without a genuine structure for participation it is hard for it to avoid its action being seen either as simply one of information, or as one of indoctrination and order-giving. Similarly, exception can hardly be taken to th the inspectors' attitude since their position is such that it is hard to see how they could behave otherwise. This is why the misunderstanding persists. As we shall see in the next chapter, the primary education curriculum is today planned and presented in a much more coherent, rational and explicit way than it was in 1967 and 1968. In particular, the official documents provide good justification, by showing the relationships between them, for the co-existence of activities apparently quite distinct from each other, such as learning to think, to learn and to cultivate the fields. Nevertheless, the inspectors continue[1] to ignore and to challenge the connexion between the aim of ruralization and the teaching of mathematics or new methods of language teaching. Criticism is twofold : sometimes the education is criticized for being too intellectual since it stresses the acquisition of analysis and synthesis, and the learning of the formal operators, and sometimes it is criticized for being a cut-price education, reduced to learning how to use the most primitive agricultural implements[2]. To show how they fulfil this vital role of intermediary, one example will suffice. After the 1969 seminar, a questionnaire was distributed through them and through headmasters to primary school teachers. From 800 questionnaires sent out, 100 replies were received and only eight out of 90 inspectors saw to it that the questionnaires were returned.

Could the task have been tackled in a different way, and should another path have been chosen for the introduction and development

1. At their fourth seminar in April 1972, for example.
2. In different quarters, both criticisms are found equally frequently. The opponents of ruralization frequently pick out from the reform only the introduction of manual and practical work of a craft or agricultural kind, while others express surprise at the amount of time spent on the acquisition of intellectual skills. We shall meet this problem again in the next chapter.

of innovation? We do not think, in fact, that conditions were ripe for a choice and an order which were clear, firm, and easy to operate and follow. It is in any case in circumstances like this, which are the most usual, that a strategy becomes necessary, though its attempts to get around contradictions and steer a course between opposites make it appear somewhat tortuous. Here we meet once more the problems we have already encountered and the same vicious circle, difficult to break out of. To obtain the consent and support of the inspectors, efforts should first of all have been made to convert them to a new education which, calling in question the education they themselves had received, would have been a challenge to them as well. Who would have done it and how could it have been done without assuming that the reform for which their co-operation was sought was largely completed? What chance was there of rapid success when there was no impulse for change around them? How long would it have taken? On the other hand, what sense would there have been in completely upsetting and radically changing their status? There was a danger, linking renewal in this way with total reconstruction without gradual stages and approximations, either that it would have to be deferred for as long as was needed to complete all the preparatory studies, which was not desirable and was indeed scarcely possible, or that it would have to be left to chance because of the disorder and the void which would have been created. There was also a danger of losing the co-operation of men who, despite their unsuitable education, nevertheless represent an important intellectual potential for Cameroon. This does not mean that the solution was not to be found in such an abrupt change - perhaps it was; but this 'perhaps' is fraught with significance. It is precisely for the sake of innovation that some hesitation is justified. The rational step which could be taken was taken. The new inspectors will be trained at the secondary teacher training institute *(Ecole normale supérieure)* following a curriculum which should make them the convinced and militant agents of the reform.

There is another aspect of IPAR's strategy which calls for attention since it offers a solution to an important problem always raised by the development of innovation. This solution was the subject of numerous criticisms, particularly at the various seminars held by the inspectors.

If, as was apparently the case of Cameroon, an innovation is planned so sweeping that it challenges the whole of the existing system, the process of substitution cannot start until all the parts and machinery of the new system have been planned and carefully

worked out. This solution has the disadvantage of putting off the introduction of the smallest change for a long time, and however seriously research work is conducted and however many precautions are taken, its application is of necessity fraught with dangers. These are usually recognized and as they arouse great fears, they sometimes also lead, paradoxically, to pilot experiments. The latter are a concrete manifestation of the choice of another solution, which may be all the more attractive because the pilot establishment, experimental in nature, affords complete freedom to change without upsetting the existing system immediately, brutally and irrevocably. It may be questioned, however, how far this formula satisfies the conditions which would allow it to develop on a national scale. It also presents the double disadvantage of greatly delaying the real introduction of the process of innovation into the administration and hence into the education system, and of involving in the reform only an extremely restricted number of teachers and supervisory staff and only a very small section of the public. Finally, we fully share the opinion of Mr. Najman when he writes: 'I think that pilot projects in the reform of education systems are unsuitable for two reasons:

> When a project of this kind is successful, the circumstances of the education and the environment have changed so much that all the conclusions which could be drawn from it are no longer of any use because they are out of date.
> Secondly, there is not enough time in Africa for pilot projects in educational reform. It is generally necessary for the project to have reached its conclusion and to have been evaluated in order for the system to be able to profit from the conclusions it has led to. This is a very long process which extends over several years, and education in Africa cannot wait so long for its reform'[1].

The criticisms usually levelled at IPAR are thus not as accurate and well justified as might have been thought at first. This is all the more true because the necessities implied by the strategy adopted may lead, given certain circumstances which we shall stress, to another 'research and development' formula in which a third solution can be seen. In fact, the Cameroon project in this particular respect is not very different from the Ivory Coast project

1. Najman, D., *L'éducation en Afrique: que faire?* Edition Deux Mille, 1973. p. 114.

which Mr. Najman takes as an example. Both projects, still in this particular respect, are again not very different from the TEVEC experiment, the value and effectiveness of which we have demonstrated elsewhere[1]: they are carried out on a scale large enough to constitute a life-size experiment preparing directly for further application at national level but still on a sufficiently limited scale to make experiment possible and to make any corrections both relatively easy and rapid. This solution offers the advantage that the project can develop in accordance with available resources while slowly but surely substituting a new system for the old one. It is, of course, to be regretted that the curricula, methods and lessons to be introduced into the first year of 280 Cameroonian primary schools in 1973, have not been evaluated with greater scientific thoroughness. This disadvantage would nevertheless be even graver, when weighed against the enormous advantages represented by the first genuine application of the reform, if we did not have the experience of these pilot classes (not to be confused with the pilot project or establishment described earlier) to assure us that the new education really does meet the requirements laid down, can be challenged if need be and can, in any case, be improved.

This is possible only under certain conditions. First of all, the schools must be selected sufficiently early to allow time to prepare for the introduction of the reform there. IPAR is understandably anxious to obtain a government decision on this issue. This new stage of the innovation process, as is the case for every important stage, requires not only a scientific and educational basis but also a political decision. Even if the scientific and educational criteria finally outweigh political considerations, it is still the government, and hence the political power, which decides. The possibility that the criteria will not tally cannot therefore be discounted. In this case, the situation will have to be met by means of a new strategy which will leave its mark on the innovation process. In Cameroon, if the decision has not already been taken, at least precise proposals have already been made by the Director of Primary and Pre-Primary Education. The choice of 112 pilot schools in the south central area, 52 in the north, 54 in the west, 38 in the coastal region and 24 in the east does not seem likely

1. Lallez, R. *The TEVEC case: an experiment in adult education using the multi-media system.* Paris, Unesco:IBE, 1972, 63 p.

to stand in the way of a good follow-up to research. Research however, requires supplies for teachers and pupils and classroom equipment. The Chief Technical Adviser is right to ask for the means to be made available for this purpose, particularly through the recruitment of experienced researchers and consequently the creation of a status for them which will attract them to IPAR. The nature of the experiment also implies that a feed-back and evaluation system should be planned, established and in working order as soon as the pilot schools are opened, and this for a variety of reasons such as the rapid correction of easily detectable errors, the provision of interesting material for research giving teachers that essential feeling of involvement, and getting to know various opinions and public feeling about the reform.

## V. The ruralized primary school, starting point and goal of the innovation

*A centre of influence and a model for emulation in the adult Community*

In the previous chapters we have seen, successively:
1. why Cameroon was setting its primary education system new objectives which may be described globally by the term 'ruralization';
2. why it had established as the key of the innovation which it wished to introduce the training of a new type of teacher and the in-service training of teachers;
3. why the devising of suitable educational approaches for reaching these objectives, and the creation of the conditions required for implementing the reform had gradually led to a widening and diversification of the project;
4. lastly, how the implementation of the developed project had demanded working hypotheses, choices and decisions which, taken as a coherent whole, constituted what may be called 'the strategy of innovation'. While not neglecting to note, wherever necessary, the problems which arose and the risks and gambles which were taken, we have continually tried to follow the process closely so as to bring out clearly the various ... phases and show the co-ordination between the diffe... of development.

But this series of stages ... ly lead to the rural school and the teaching provided th... there also that we must seek the results of this cohe... and convergence. This is the focal point at which the many ... ations observed so far converge and finally take fully practic... form. Our analysis would therefore be incomplete if we did no... now give a full description of the new rural school. We must not lose sight of the fact, however, that the essential innovation concerns objectives. The success, and consequently the reality of innovation in education depend on how far the objectives have been attained. The rural school is the 'proximate' but also the efficient and real cause of innovation. It is at that level that the fate of innovation is finally weighed in the balance and that the main gamble is taken. The study of the rural school is therefore not only important and desirable for

a complete description of the process but also essential and indispensable, as it is like the last link without which everything falls apart. If we are to see how school and environment link together, or to see at any rate how it was thought they would link together, this study must constantly compare the rural school and the environment which the pupils will have to live in and transform once they have become adults.

So as to emphasize his new functions, the primary school teacher is now called a 'teacher-community leader' (*instituteur-animateur*), a significant term which calls for a conceptual definition. The concept embraces a new way of teaching, new attitudes and a new style of training. The teacher will no longer be the 'schoolmaster' from whom the pupils receive orders and knowledge more or less passively. His mission is rather to stimulate their minds and provide them with the instruments which they will put to use themselves in order to think, learn, act and create. By extension, the concept designates a new field of action, a vocation to educate, through community leadership, sectors of the population other than schoolchildren, for example, adolescents who have already left school but who have not yet begun an active working life, or working adults with families. The teacher will no longer lead a double life, shutting himself up in his school to teach children and only emerging to lose himself in the anonymous mass of citizens. His role does not stop at the school gate. Outside school and after school, he is still a teacher; within school, during school hours he is already a community leader. This image of the teacher is completely new, the most striking innovation is certainly the extension of his functions. We shall therefore consider this first.

Before doing so, we may note that its result is somewhat surprising. It is fairly clear that such an extension is really possible only after a certain time and not at the beginning of the reform. This delay raises two main questions. Firstly, what is the real significance, even in the longer term, of this extension of functions? The second question - as to the extent of the innovation even in the schools themselves and as to how deep it goes - shows the close link between the different aspects of the innovation. It brings us right to the heart of the problem to which passing allusion was made in the previous chapter. Not that the essential innovation, the only one which finally counts, that of achieving new objectives, is also automatically challenged and compromised. The interest of the analysis is not even to show us the uncertainty which overshadows

the reform and which only future events and scientific evaluation can dissipate, but to throw light on the real and basic means to its ends, on the main strategy governing it and on the major gamble in which it is at stake.

In order to show more clearly how the different phases of the innovation process are derived from the different phases of the innovators' reasoning, we will present formally and explicity, on the basis of official documents and facts, the various propositions which reflect the development of their thinking. The starting point which, in view of the objectives, is apparently undisputed and indeed seems undisputable, is the dual role of the teacher, specifically his new function as community leader. 'A double function is therefore assigned to the school:

> an in-school function: to educate pupils according to the new perspective;
> an out-of-school function: to organize adult community activities'[1]

'As a result of the new government policy on primary education, the trainee teacher must be prepared for a *threefold task*:

a) as a specialist in ruralized education
b) as a certified teacher he will be a permanent adviser to less qualified colleagues
c) lastly, he will act as a permanent intermediary in the organization of local community activities.'[2]

This position having been established, the problem seems to refer solely to this last function and to the ways and means of carrying it out effectively.

*The first proposition*, which will constitute the first element of the reply, justifies community leadership in a precise way which is also noticeably new in relation to the other texts. 'But this role of the school in relation to youth, although necessary, is not sufficient: if a young school pupil who has received this training, with all his aspirations, is to play an active role in his home community, it is essential that the community should also develop along parallel lines in its mentality and behaviour. By making the village or the neighbourhood a real structure into which the young

1. *Interim report*, op. cit., p. 12. *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*, op. cit., p. 9.
2. *Interim report*, op. cit., p. 28, underlined in the text.

people can fit, the ruralized primary school becomes the starting point for community promotion, which is essential to the country's development.' And the text adds 'However well-trained the pupil may be according to the view-point of the reform, his desire to work for progress may well be sapped if it encounters the inertia of an adult community which is hostile to change, and which does not allow the child to apply his knowledge and skills'[1]. If the teacher's activity is exercised only within the school, 'the pupil leaving school may be paralyzed by tradition. The teachers will therefore be taught how to arouse interest among the adult section of the community in economic development and socio-cultural advancement so that they welcome and encourage the activities of the pupils leaving school'[1].

*Second proposition:* 'If community leadership is to reach out to the adults, the latter must feel the need for the change which it aims to bring about'[2]. But this does not seem to be the case at present, at least for the vast majority of the population. There then follow two propositions, very different in nature but completely convergent, which lead us to a clear and unequivocal conclusion.

*Third and fourth propositions:* 'The desire among adults to work towards the transformation of present ways of life will be greatly facilitated if the village has a model provided by the school (poultry-house, garden, plantation, canteen, latrines, clean water source). The adults will gradually imitate the school if it provides them with examples of action to transform the environment which satisfy their desire for profit, health and amusement'.[3] 'It is not a question of demanding from the teacher extra work over and above an already heavy school schedule, nor of cutting down this schedule so as to enable him to organize community activities on a part-time basis, as this would increase the running costs...'[4].

1. *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*. op. cit., p. 10.
2. Ibid., p. 5. *Interim report*. op. cit., p. 13.
3. *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*, op. cit., p. 5. *Interim report*, op. cit., p. 13.
4. Ibid., p. 12. *Interim report*. op. cit., p. 13.

*Conclusion:* 'We see how the two functions which the government assigns to the teacher will be adjusted in practice'[1]. 'The teacher will be required to do his work of education in his classroom among his pupils, but in accordance with the main lines of the reform. This effort will gradually entail community activities among the adolescents and adults; the school will become a centre of influence and the teacher, respected by the inhabitants, will be asked to guide and organize the adults' efforts to achieve a better life; but he will will not be required to arouse and sustain motivation — normally the most difficult task of the community leader - by time-consuming speeches and exhortation. The teacher is not required to be a hero: *he is asked to be the 'schoolmaster according to the traditional Western concept'*[2] 'A good educator is a leader; it is much easier for the teacher to be a leader in his school, by encouraging a spirit of co-operation, initiative and creativity, and by following the official syllabuses for environmental studies and practical work whereby the reform is given practical form than for him to be a community leader in the village where many habits are long-established.'[3]

'On the other hand the educator must be able to make of the class and the school a community which is able to select and structure its aims, organize group or individual activity itself, and carry out the tasks which will transform the school environment for the benefit of all'. The essential point is therefore now to define what is meant by 'leadership in school'. 'Community leadership means leading the community to desire and achieve a change. To do something together means first to be aware of deficiencies and to arrange them in order of priority; then to pool common determination and energies in order to make up the deficiency which has been identified as most urgent; finally to organize and plan the work, distribute the responsibilities and carry out the tasks.'[4] 'That is to say that the teacher will endeavour, in the spirit of the reform, to obtain real participation from his students in all

1. *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*, op. cit., p. 12; *Interim report*. op. cit., p. 13.
2. Op. cit., Our italics, but the expression is so strong, clear and significant that there is hardly any need for them.
3. Op. cit., p. 11.
4. Ibid., p. 11.

work undertaken at school, so as to transform the school gradually into a *co-operative for thought and action*. 'Ruralization' is therefore, from this point of view, a radical reform in the spirit and in the very style of education'.[1] We shall examine in due course how organizing activities in this sense take practical form in the ruralized schools. Finally, we may ask where the teacher himself will derive his authorits for community leadership. The reply is also clear: 'That is why it may be agreed that before becoming a community organizer in the village, the teacher must exercise the same functions in his school. He will only be able to do this if he trained to do so in a teacher training institute which is itself a living model of this concept'[2]. Here again, we find, clearly expressed, the 'model' referred to briefly in the previous chapter: the training institute as 'living model' for the organization of activities in the rural school, and the rural school as model for the organization of village activities.

We have quoted these documents purposely, both in the interests of scientific exactitude and because they are clearly and strongly expressed. They are very meaningful and provide solid support for our ensuing comments. These fall into two categories. Firstly we will try to outline more exactly and completely than in the previous chapter the main strategy of innovation and the model upon which it is based. Secondly, we will examine that strategy and model, not in a spirit of adverse criticism, but in order to form a clearer understanding of their actual manifestations, their true significance, the choices which they imply and the risks which they involve.

In the first place we will note - *the texts quoted in relation to the first proposal showed this clearly* - that the teacher's second function is designed less to extend his field of action than to prevent the first field of action from proving sterile and vain. Leadership in the adult community is not an end in itself but a means to ensure that the training provided for the children will be easily and effectively employed in action on the environment. The main aim is therefore not to train adults, i.e. not to make

1. *Interim report*, op. cit., p. 13, underlined in the text.
2. *Formation des élèves-instituteurs et institutrices*, p. 5.

them also into agents for the transformation of the environment, but to put them in a frame of mind which inclines them to 'authorize'[1] the application of the adolescents' knowledge and skill. It is therefore not surprising that the texts refer to 'the need for organizing adult activities around the school'[2], for the expression can and must be taken figuratively as well as literally.

In the second place, we see that the first proposition leads naturally to a distinction for the adults between two types of community leadership activities, which are at the same time two different stages: the first concerned with 'motivation'[3], without which the second, concerned with organization and work, is impossible. The first type is said to consist generally, of 'speeches and exhortations', which are usually 'the most difficult task of the community leader'[4]. From our viewpoint it is obviously the most important and the most necessary. It is, however, the task from which the teacher may be exempted for it is the 'model provided by the school which will secure support from the adults'. Consequently, at least, in the first and most important phase, the teacher's two functions coincide. It is primarily and only by becoming an activities organizer in his class or at least in the school, that the teacher will also become an organizer among the adults. The example given by the school will stimulate adults to seek changes; it is the model suggested by the school which will have an active effect. Of course, what takes place in the classroom and the school will be new, or so we may assume for the time being, but at least it will take place in the classroom and in the school. Of course the pupil will be trained according to new rules and he will have new activities, in particular practical work which will prepare him for action on the environment in real life. But he will do this within the school framework and as the texts rightly put it, it is 'the school environment'[5] which will be transformed by the organization and distribution of tasks. Certainly the teacher will now be an organizer according to the new lines of emphasis laid down by the reform, but as the texts also rightly say, he will exercise this function 'in his classroom,

1. The word is in the text we have quoted. *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*, op. cit., p. 10.
2. Ibid.
3. *Interim report*, op. cit., p. 13.
4. Ibid.
5. *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*, p. 12.

among his pupils'[1]. Not only will he continue to be the 'schoolmaster according to the traditional Western concept, but indeed he will be 'requested' to play this role. How could one say more in so few words?

However paradoxical at first sight, in the framework of such a radical reform, this explicit, intentional recourse to history, to the most solidly-established tradition, to the image of the 'schoolmaster', it is nevertheless not surprising. It corresponds, on the contrary, to the rules of a very simple logic: when the innovation is conceived and introduced into the school as we know it, the wider and stronger it is, the more it is going to present in a favourable light and bring to the fore again the institutional model upon which the school is based. For this reason also it is impossible to attribute to the innovations introduced into the school their actual virtues, in particular as regards their influences on the environment, without using, to designate the school, expressions which bring out best this type of action which operates by setting examples and arousing admiration. The texts are full of this kind of expression: 'living model', 'centre of influence'[2], etc... To sum up, we may say that it is impossible to think that the school can become a 'living model' without at the same time paying tribute to the model upon which it is based, whatever may be the innovations to which it owes its new influence.

Let us suppose that the school exerts a sufficiently strong influence to inspire in adults a need for change or to promote awareness of that need and develop it. Once the motivation is there, the conditions are right for the primary teacher to fulfil his role as a community leader. How will he fulfil it and what part will he take, through this function, in developing action on the environment? It is immediately obvious that his participation will be somewhat meagre, not because his influence is any the less but rather because his activity within the school context has a still greater impact than was thought. For the adults in the community, the rural school will – according to its sponsors at least – become not only an example to admire but also, and just as spontaneously, a model to imitate. Admiration was said by Descartes to be the light of the mind. It would therefore not only awaken

1. *La réforme de l'enseignement*, op. cit., p. 12.
2. *Interim report*, op. cit., p. 13. This and similar expressions occur *passim*.

people to the need for change, but at the same time it would open their eyes to the means of bringing it about. The example of the rural school would therefore not only obviate the need to stimulate motivation, but it would also greatly reduce the need for community organization activities at the place of work. The 'school' not only presents an example of life and action conducive to a desire within the community for change; it also provides a model for the activities to be undertaken with a view to meeting that desire. The official documents which are generally being followed in practice[1], have plenty to say about this and seem to be categorical and clear, as witness this passage: 'The desire among adults to work towards the transformation of present ways of life will be greatly facilitated if the village has a model provided by the school (poultry-house, garden, plantation, canteen, latrines, clean water source, etc.). The adults will gradually *imitate* the school if it provides them with *examples of action* to change the environment which satisfy their desire for profit, health and amusement'[2]. Such a reform, conceived in this way, should make of the school, *through the example of its achievements*, a focal point of leadership for adult communities'[3]. It is true that direct community organization remains useful and indeed essential, and that this is one of the functions of the teacher-community leader, but ultimately this function scarcely differs from that performed by him at school with his pupils. It hardly alters the scope of his work and we are constantly and unfailingly brought back to his original role and our initial description. Since at school he must gain the respect and liking of the children, he must, to provide leadership for the population, gain its respect and liking as well, but he will win them spontaneously, simply by the psychological effect of the activities undertaken at the school. So here is something which poses no problem, requires no special proficiency or special approach, and accordingly bears out and even strengthens the acknowledged influence of the school model. Furthermore, if this fund of respect and liking is put to work for community organization proper, the latter scarcely differs from similar activities at school. In both cases the requirement is to establish among the members of the group a spirit and relationship conducive to community initiatives, joint reflection on group

1. Examples are quoted a little further on.
2. *Interim report*, op. cit., p. 13; *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*, p. 12 (our italics).
3. *Half-yearly report. 1 July-December 1972.* p. 2 (our italics).

projects and a rational distribution of practical tasks. The texts, which define the organization of co-operation at school are also applicable and are fully drawn on to describe community organization activities among adults. The point is to use community organization to make the village as well as the school and the neighbourhood 'a co-operative for thought and action'[1]. From leadership among schoolchildren to leadership among adults the transition is especially easy since the former gradually and imperceptibly merges into the latter, and the latter does not basically difffer from the former. 'The teacher will be required to do his work of education in his classroom, among his pupils, but in accordance with the main lines of the reform. This effort will gradually entail community activities among the adolescents and adults, the school will become a centre of influence and the teacher, respected by the inhabitants, will be asked to guide and organize adults' efforts to achieve a better life'[2].

At least the official documents are consistent with this conception. The task awaiting the teacher when the example of the school has finally converted adults is not so onerous and new that it requires a fundamental reappraisal of his image and status as seen in the traditional school model. This harmony between innovation and tradition is too often and too insistently proclaimed not to arouse some doubts. Is it really, as we are told and as we have ourselves presented it[3], a spontaneous effect of the conditions governing genuine and essential innovations? Is it not rather the case that attachment to the existing structures and status, whether by conviction or obligation, adds its own weight, as an argument, parallel to but different from the basic educational argument? Can we not go further and ask ourselves whether the essential conviction does not lie precisely there, in that very attachment to a status which blends in so well with attachment to the essential model, and whether it is not this conviction which predetermines the whole line of reasoning? There is no certain answer to these questions. Moreover, the various assumptions are not mutually exclusive. The caution which is advisable in approaching questions concerning

1. *Interim report*, op. cit., p. 13.
2. *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*, op. cit., p. 12.
3. In presenting by means of quotations the various propositions in the innovators' reasoning which leads to a reduction of the need for stimulation of motivation — see earlier, p. 77.

structures and status may very well go together with a personal conviction that certain things at least should not be changed, such as the institutional model of the school, and that innovation will be all the more effective and invaluable if it strengthens this model. In the present context, however, this is relatively unimportant. It is better to restate the question of whether this harmony of innovation and tradition, while limiting the novelty of means employed in the reform does not to some extent jeopardize it, or at any rate oblige it to take certain chances. After determining the main features of the model and the strategy, this is what we would now like to examine.

In the ensuing critical analysis we shall consider the two aspects of the rural school and the two functions of the teacher-community leader. Firstly, we shall examine the role of the teacher as a leader of the adult community, and the influence of the rural school as a focal point for motivation and imitation. Secondly, we shall go into the role of the teacher as a leader of his pupils and the new training introduced into the primary school to enable it to achieve the new objectives of education. We shall very rapidly highlight the mutual dependence of these roles and functions.

The rural school cannot exert the influence expected of it and become an instrument for innovation in its environment without certain preconditions being met. To be a persuasive example, it must first be a familiar, everyday example. This implies open schools, which the local people can not only see at work but in which they can come and go as they please. Even if, as is the case, the school conceived as the appointed and favoured, if not exclusive, place for all instruction is maintained, it must cease to be a closed area set aside for teachers and pupils. The structures being what they are, this will inevitably raise some problems. Opening up a school to its surroundings raises no difficulty in the countryside in Africa, where the school is never walled or fenced in, but this is not so in the towns. What is more, the problem is not quite the same for gardens, poultry-houses, water sources and, in short, what the official documents call the 'school environment' and for workshops. But to pose these problems is in itself to assume that the preliminary problems of establishing a workshop for each rural school, providing nearby arable land and purchasing tools have been overcome. Although these are basically material and financial considerations, they are nonetheless decisive for the future of an innovation which sets an exemplary

value on practical work. Proof of this is that, as the time for initial application draws closer, and though it is confined to 280 schools, growing concern over the matter is becoming apparent. New options and new decisions are needed. 'The reform requires that each school should have a plot of land and a supply of tools kept in a small workshop. This necessity will become urgent when the reform is applied in the fourth year of the primary school, that is, in 1979. Capital allocations for the purchase of tools are provided for under the third plan. Communes could henceforth be required by official regulation to grant each school a plot of land of an area to be determined in accordance with the size of the establishment'[1]. This is further evidence that before it can become a means of economic and social change, the rural school must itself undergo such prior changes.

To serve as an example, the 'school environment' must be constantly cared for. In this respect the notion of care goes a good deal further than that of upkeep and of mere material considerations. In the first place, in the case of livestock units or gardens, plantations, water sources, filters and the like, it does not just mean maintaining the equipment in sound working order. It in fact applies to ordinary, everyday work constituting action on the environment by means of which the rural school may set an example. Then it must be said that 'caring for' fields or even livestock means the due performance, when the rhythm of life and of the seasons so requires, of the work necessary to production such as sowing, trimming, planting out, harvesting, and so on. Yet this rhythm does not fit the traditional rhythm of school work and holidays. Obviously, the very idea of 'holidays' is scarcely compatible with the idea of raising livestock and growing crops. Solutions are no doubt possible, but they have to be sought out and invented. In short, innovation is needed here too. The 'school environment' is not likely to become an example if it is abandoned for three months and if certain items of work are not done or are done at the wrong time, too late or too early. A good many alternative schemes are in any case conceivable. For instance, there could be a permanently functioning school, full assumption of responsibility for the 'school environment' by the pupils and one or more adults from the community temporarily taking over the organizational

1. *Interim report*, op. cit., p. 36-37.

duties of the teacher. But at all events it seems that we can hardly avoid questioning the status and conditions of the teacher and the structure and status of the school regarded as an autonomous institution set in its environment but ultimately independent of it to a large extent by reason of its teachers and the instruction provided. The import of our question — for we are merely asking the question here — will be more readily grasped if it is conceded that, unless there are particularly close relations of solidarity between the school and the village or neighbourhood, the holidays may well expose the 'school environment' not only to deterioration but to wastage and perhaps even to pilfering. To avoid this, adults should no doubt make a point of helping at all times to keep things in a proper state of repair and to care for them in the sense we have defined. Does this not presuppose other relations between the school and the village or neighbourhood than those suggested by the notion of model? Indeed, we may finally be inclined to consider this notion contradictory since the example can only remain exemplary if there are other links between the school and the local population than those of a model and its imitators. Is it not necessary, furthermore, that the teacher make of the 'school environment' not a temporary place for doing exercises or giving demonstrations but 'his place', almost in the Aristotelian sense of the place where he lives and 'fulfils' himself, to which his very existence is attached, or alternatively that the adult community regard the poultry-houses, gardens and plantations surrounding the school not as models to be viewed from the outside as someone else's property, but as part of its own property? In fact, the alternative is only apparent: in both cases the relations of the teacher with the community and the environment and the relations of the adults with the teacher and the school alter in the same direction, towards feedback and towards a symmetrical participation, thus calling in question the image of the school as an autonomous centre and main focal point of influence.

Let us now consider how the proposed rural school may be a focal point not only of motivation but of imitation. It must be borne in mind that the question is not the same for all aspects of 'the better life'[1] of which the school is taken as the pattern. Its basic achievements in this respect concern what is nowadays

1. An expression (*'le mieux vivre'*) often used by the staff of IPAR and the sponsors of the reform.

referred to as the 'quality of life': health, the well-being conferred by hygiene, comfort and the conveniences of life, entertainment and leisure, and so forth. Let us disregard *for the time being* this side of the question and concern ourselves only with income and growth. It goes without saying that as regards productivity the example can only act as a stimulus if the peasant or the craftsman has access to the same resources which have rendered it possible — otherwise there can be no imitation — and if increased productivity is accompanied by increased resources. It is clear that achievement of these conditions does not depend on educational reform. We feel impelled to express such an apparently simple truth chiefly because it enables us to recall the close and mutual dependence of educational innovation and economic and social innovation. Another reason is that it is not as absolute as is usually thought. To prove it not only provides an immediate illustration of the reciprocal nature of the innovations but also, and above all, goes some way towards answering a possible objection concerning the rural school as a model to be imitated. Let us first take the objection. We know — and have noted in passing in order to point out how close the teacher training institute is to the traditional model — that trainee teachers do not receive instruction as specialists in agriculture, health or crafts, i.e. in the occupations of the primary and secondary sectors. This being so, we may wonder what chance the primary teacher has of being able to build up a 'school environment' or of transforming it to the point of making it a model for the adult community. One may naturally envisage participation by specialists — or more simply professionals — in the training provided at the teacher training institute or at the rural school. Actually, this training could only become effective by radically altering the school model which is being defended. Perhaps this is why the solution is not adopted. Anyway the question does not go unanswered and the answer seems to be lacking neither in relevance nor in coherence. It consists first of all in recalling that this is too early a stage to give the child vocational training and that the purpose is not to make the rural school into a technical and vocational school[1]; and subsequently in recognizing that, in the adult community, teachers

1. *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*, op. cit., p. 11: 'The primary school is not an apprenticeship or preliminary vocational training school'.

cannot replace technicians, who should accordingly provide the true and prime leadership for adults so that it is even said that primary teachers are really only the 'intermediaries' in this respect'[1]. 'Teachers will not of course be given the training of the specialists of the departments of health, youth, rural development and planning with whom they collaborate, but in the village, with the parents with whom they are in easy contact, they will be the permanent intermediaries of community development'[2]. This analysis seems not only relevant and consistent; it also has the virtue of fitting in with the limited significance and scope initially and ever since attributed to the teacher's secondary function as community leader. It nevertheless has a serious disadvantage: if we can no longer see very well how the rural school can serve as a model, we may be inclined to think that, ultimately, it does not fulfil the role expected of it so far as adults are concerned.

To this new objection there is a possible new answer which is more precise and more subtle than before. The new argument in favour of the rural school could be two-fold, first distinguishing between improvement in techniques and innovation in praxis. Technical improvement does indeed call for a competence, technical proficiency and specialization not always necessary, at least not to the same extent, for innovation in praxis. As stated earlier, increased productivity is not necessarily accompanied by increased resources (if it simply leads to increased production, for instance, which may have the opposite effect), so that to serve as a stimulus the example of the rural school must be combined with measures of another sort. We would now go so far as to say, after further analysis, that increased productivity may itself depend on sophisticated techniques beyond the reach of the teacher, his training being what it is, and of the pupils, given their age; but it in no way follows, and we can now prove it, that this truth is as absolute as it is apparently simple. For one thing, no advanced technical training is needed for certain agricultural practices or for the use of fertilizers which increase yields. Nor is it needed for diversification of agricultural production which may lead, more surely than mere increased productivity (which in any case it does not preclude) to higher income. The primary teacher graduating from the new teacher training institute may, given fairly simple advice, usefully take such initiatives. In this way, at least, it

1. Ibid., p. 11.
2. Ibid., p. 11.

seems that the rural school may indeed become a viable model and that the teacher may play an effective part in community development. We already know the second side of the argument. Innovation, in praxis, which we are constrasting with innovation in techniques in the narrow sense, concerns not only agricultural practices proper but the practical aspects of organizing and managing production. Another thing the adult community could copy from the rural school is the way in which its work is thought out, decided on, organized and performed, whereby the school becomes a 'co-operative for thought and action'[1]. And it is by reproducing, within the community, the part he has played at school in order to establish such co-operation that the teacher can become the community organizer[2]. We have already pointed out the frequency of passages in the official documents where, despite differences in the ground covered and the objectives, the two forms of co-operation merge[3].

Nevertheless, there is still some doubt as to whether the example of this rural school will be fully and lastingly convincing, whether it will be easy to imitate, whether it will really be transferable to the community, and even whether the latter will perceive it as such.

The basic problem remains, since the answer to it is uncertain. It does not entirely preclude another hypothesis which would put a new complexion on it by fundamentally changing, in the direction already indicated, the reference model. For the first side of the argument to gather its full force, the adult community would have to arrive at a clear understanding of the relation between the practical innovations at the rural school and better living standards, which could be achieved by transforming the 'co-operative for thought and action' into a proper small-scale production and distribution co-operative marketing its products. This would perhaps kill two birds with one stone, for to give its true purpose to the 'co-operative for thought and action' and to give concrete expression, within an actual co-operative, to the form and attitudes involved in co-operation would no doubt facilitate the process of imitation and innovation. In our view, this linking of the school, on however modest a scale, to the production and distribution circuit would radically change the present structure of the rural

1. *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*, op. cit., p. 13.
2. Ibid., p. 12.
3. Ibid., p. 11.

school. Supposing that this could be done without any far-reaching change, however, it may then be wondered whether the example would be imitable and even whether it would be regarded as a model which one would wish to imitate. At all events, to make the school a centre of influence and the teacher 'a schoolmaster according to the traditional Western concept' also means making the school an autonomous centre, a world with its own laws and rules, different from the surrounding world. It also means maintaining a school environment different from the environment of the adult community, and making the teacher, at least when he is in his classroom and in this school environment, a man on the periphery of the community. This being the case, it may be wondered whether the *forms of production* and co-operation can be perceived as examples and transferred as models. They belong in entirely different contexts which may completely change what might be called the *production relations*. To introduce co-operation and co-operatives in town or village in an African setting which has its rules, its tradition, its customs and its economic and social structures is something quite different from introducing them into a school essentially based on the traditional model. From this viewpoint, the transfer of everything which improves the 'quality of life' raises the same queries, though less acutely, as the transfer of what may raise the 'standard of living'. Thus, the whole problem is whether, with all the innovations imaginable, the school can act upon the environment and transform it by the sole virtue of its influence and example, that is, while remaining what it has always been: an institution with its own structures and standards and from which those who are neither pupils nor teachers are excluded.

*The teacher-community leader and a new education for young Cameroonians*

We have seen that the new, rural school henceforth has a two-fold function: an academic function, which is to educate pupils in such a way that the fundamental objectives of the reform may be achieved; and an out-of-school function, which is to provide [illegible]hip for the adult communities in such a way that the new generations attending the rural school may find in the adult community the most favourable conditions for the new way of life and forms of activity for which they have been trained. After studying the latter function we shall analyse the former, bearing in mind our concern to seek the processes, agents and strategies of innovation.

To do so and to investigate in the most methodical, precise and reliable manner the innovation introduced by the rural school, we shall successively examine the fundamental objectives of this school, that is, the type of pupil it sets out to train, and then its practical objectives, i.e. the translation of the fundamental objectives into terms of education and training. Then we shall take the educational objectives, namely the means — methods, curricula and timetables — whereby it is reckoned that the practical objectives and hence the fundamental objectives can be attained. Thus, by constant linking and comparison, we shall test the various aspects and phases of the innovation of primary schooling.

*The two fundamental objectives*

There are two fundamental objectives. To define the first, it suffices to take the definition of ruralization and apply it to the Cameroonian pupil completing six years of primary schooling. 'The school of today, particularly in Africa, should not concern itself solely with producing bureaucrats and technocrats for whom outlets are steadily dwindling. It should draw young people's attention to the many employment opportunities open to them in the primary and secondary sectors. This is why at the Garoua Congress I put special emphasis on the need for the ruralization of education'[1]. This is also why '1967 saw the official announcement of the need to adapt education, *at all levels*, to real social and economic needs in Cameroon'[2]. 'And as the economy of the country is essentially rural — based on agriculture and forestry, with even the incipient industrialization being based on the processing of the produce of the land — the reform has been called the 'ruralization of education'[3]. Whatever one may think of the use of this term, its definition is clear and its meaning should no longer give rise to the ambiguity which usually occasioned the reservations and criticisms. The second objective orients the primary school towards entrance to secondary education. But it is not so much a question of two objectives as of one dual objective: 'the ruralized school should at the same time prepare the best pupils to pursue their studies, and the remaining bulk of pupils to integrate into working life, using the same curricula and methods in both town and country'[4].

1. Address by the Head of State at the IPAR graduation ceremony, Yaoundé, 13 June 1970.
2. *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*, op. cit., p. 3 (our italics).
3. Ibid., p. 3.
4. *Interim report*, 1967-1972, op. cit., p. 12.

*The three educational objectives*

To attain this dual fundamental objective, the rural school puts foremost among its objectives the acquisition of three principal abilities: the ability to think and to express oneself, the ability to act and the ability to learn. 'Preparation for life is nowadays assessed in terms of ability rather than of knowledge. The adult in our modern societies must be capable of thinking logically and of expressing himself, of taking initiatives and of acting, of continuing to learn in order to adapt himself to change and to re-train for another occupation if necessary' [1]. We consider that these objectives are unquestionably novel and unquestionably in harmony with the dual fundamental objective which should be the yardstick for evaluating them. To learn to think and to express oneself, to learn to learn, and to learn to act are all just as necessary for the pupil proceeding to secondary education as to the adolescent preparing to enter the working world who is expected to be actively instrumental in transforming the environment, and capable of initiative, team work, and rapid and continual adaptation to the new techniques and new conditions he has helped to create. The justification given in a great many of the documents seems perfectly convincing in this respect. We do not think it too early to communicate or develop these abilities and this is certainly the job of the primary school. Furthermore, we are sufficiently well acquainted with what the traditional primary school used to be not to have the slightest doubt about the novelty of the rural school. We recognize that acquisition of these abilities gives pupils a basic, general training, which could equally well be recommended for pupils in another country, or indeed another continent, and is just as suitable for developed as for developing countries. But this only bears out the value and validity of the objectives pursued. Such training is therefore necessary; only if it were considered sufficient as well would it be open indirectly — negatively so to speak — to criticism.

The sponsors of the Cameroonian rural school see things differently. The acquisition or development of abilities is a prime consideration, but it must go hand in hand with the acquisition of knowledge, which is itself of two different types. The first covers what may be called instrumental knowledge. In fact the aim of this

1. *Interim report*, 1967-1972, op. cit., p. 15.

instruction is no different from that of the foregoing training, the point being to provide the children with the instruments which will enable them to exercise and develop the three principal abilities. 'As in the past — and better than in the past — the primary school will of course continue to teach the standard subjects — French, arithmetic, non-verbal means of expression... But these, rooted in the setting of Cameroonian life and culture, will serve as instruments to study situations arising in the environment and to find an answer or a solution to them'[1]. Acquisition of this type of knowledge is thus of decisive importance. Indeed, it is the key to any ruralized primary education, a fact which is not always understood by ill-advised critics. It occupies as it were the pivotal position between the training designed to develop essential basic abilities and that which will permit, at a second stage, the acquisition of a second type of knowledge, a type whereby the rural school in its original form should be able to attain the new objectives laid down for it: to train, with the minimum of drop-outs and repeated classes, young Cameroonians willing and able to integrate with their environment the better to be able to transform it.

The second type of knowledge that the rural school will endeavour to instil has the explicit and precise aim 'of getting the pupil to know his environment well with a view to transforming it'. For this purpose two additional means will be used. First, and probably more important, the traditional compartmentalization of subjects taught will be replaced by interdisciplinarity taken to its furthest possible limits. In our view, this is a highly desirable trend. We have attempted to prove elsewhere[2] that the more the fields of study are separated the greater the risk that each of them will split up, and that the more marked their division the greater the risk of moving towards a deductive, teacher-centred form of education placing a good deal of emphasis on theoretical and abstract knowledge, which amounts simultaneously to cutting the teacher off from his pupils and the school from the environment. The greater the compartmentalization of subjects, the harder it is to prevent a similar compartmentalization occurring between pupils, between teacher and taught, between school and community. It is conversely, no surprise that stud, of the environment is the best corner-stone

1. *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*, op. cit., p. 13.
2. *Seminar on the training of teachers by the interdisciplinary system* ..., op. cit.

of interdisciplinarity. Such study accordingly occupies an essential and increasingly prominent place in the rural school as the abilities and knowledge which are its instruments but of which it is the end purpose become better developed and mastered. On the one hand, therefore, knowledge will be integrated with study of the environment: 'the latter is becoming a subject of study based on observation first of the local environment, then of a broader environment, and replacing the formerly separate subjects of history, geography, science, civics, hygiene, child care, economics (home or otherwise), crop and stock farming, study of social groups and so forth'[1]. On the other hand, the progress of such study will, as suggested earlier, depend on the progress of integration[2], which is itself determined by progress in the acquisition of abilities and of instrumental knowledge.

In addition to this initial means there is a second: 'Knowledge will be directed towards practical applications. The aim is no longer knowledge for its own sake. The new school is ridding itself of those encyclopaedic pretensions which transformed the pupil into a memory and dissociated culture from life. Henceforth there are two sides to each lesson: the pupil acquires a certain item or items of knowledge, and the practical work sessions add to this a certain know-how. The school thereby naturally finds its place again within the village'[3]. In our view, this latter means will be all the better used as use is also made of the former. We consider that know-how is an essential complement to study of the environment only in so far as it can take concrete material form in action on the environment, and it seems to us that this action should be regarded not so much as a prolongation and application of study, but rather as part and parcel of it. In this respect, we find the text quoted a little disturbing; it seems to us at least that it calls for explanations and clarification. In view of the objectives, we approve the orientation of the school which gives practical activities their place, but we feel that it is not sufficient to say that henceforth 'knowledge will be directed towards practical applications'[4] and conclude that 'the school

1. *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*, op. cit., p. 13.
2. Ibid., p. 14.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

thereby naturally finds its place again within the village'[1].

Everything thus depends on how the study of the environment is seen and, in particular, how — and how successfully — interdisciplinarity has been put into practice. To seek to clarify our thinking on this problem of how to make study of the environment open the rural school to the environment itself is in fact tantamount to forcing ourselves to take a further step towards materialization of the objectives, to undertaking a precise and practical examination of the means by which this new school intends to achieve the objectives it has set itself. This examination will not enable us to pass an immediate, reliable and final judgement on the reform now under way in Cameroon, but it will at least reveal pertinently and precisely the options and gambles on which the fate of this innovation depends. In other words, we must now describe and investigate the methods, curricula and work corresponding to study of the environment.

*Method for the study of the environment: the rural school and the problem of innovation in education*

The case is the same for the study of the environment as for instrumental knowledge. Its introduction into ruralized education would seem to have been well timed and it appears to have been allowed a sufficiently important place in the curricula and timetables to be able to play the part expected of it. During the crucial third and fourth years of primary education, 'it gradually asserts its importance as the pivot around which knowledge can be integrated whilst the child makes further progress in the instrumental disciplines'[2] and, during the last two years (fifth and sixth), 50% of the timetable is devoted to it and to practical work conducive to 'the better life' (agriculture, health, housing, nutrition, child care, hygiene, home economics, etc.)[3]. It remains to be seen whether this knowledge and these activities, the basic idea and the methods which govern their presentation, their integration (integration of knowledge, and integration of knowledge with practical work) and their transmission, have been chosen in a way which will enable them to play their part. This time, however, it is a vitally important matter since it touches on nothing less than the basic

1. *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*, op. cit., p. 14.
2. Ibid., p. 18.
3. Ibid., p. 17.

objective of the reform and thus the very essence of innovation. It is not fortuitous that environmental studies occupy mainly the last two years of ruralized education and that they then take up 50% of the pupils' time. They constitute a focal point in curriculum planning. It is, after all, through environmental studies that it is hoped to educate young Cameroonians able to integrate with their environment in order to transform it; so it is on environmental studies that the meaning and future of ruralized education depend. To get a clearer picture, to be able to ask informed questions, we shall begin by describing the syllabus and methods for environmental studies.

We have seen why environmental studies as such are begun at the start of the third year of primary education. In theory, the third and fourth years are for studying the local environment. The third-year syllabus, in fact, is expressly concerned with the learning of three things. The child will be taught to situate himself in time, which has hitherto only existed for him as time spent on doing something. To achieve this, he will practise telling the time of day (day, night, morning, evening, etc.), will note what distinguishes one part of the day from another and prepare a timetable for his various activities. Similarly, he will learn to situate himself in space by means of exercises involving the notions of right and left and of direction, etc. Finally, these two types of excercise will facilitate the third, which makes use of the preceding ideas to give the child practice in situating living creatures in the scheme of life. Having been helped to perceive the broad scheme of life, he will be trained to observe the life cycles of plants and animals. He will also acquire the vocabulary and instruments for studying life whilst being helped to understand the idea of the family. These studies will be combined with drawing and manual and community leadership work.

The fourth year is planned more as a prolongation of the third than as a study of the same material in greater depth. It is, in fact, reserved for a study of the local environment, and the methods used will be found again in the last years of primary education. Integration is achieved through a syllabus based on *topics*[1] and this knowledge is 'usually acquired by *personal investigation in the natural and social environment* as well as from information leaflets regularly distributed to the schools...'[2]. The topics

1. *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*, op. cit., p. 15 (our italics).
2. Ibid., p. 14 (our italics).

are identical from one year to the next but, having begun by studying the local environment, pupils will pass on to the *regional environment* in their fifth year and finally to the *Cameroonian nation, Africa and the world* in their sixth year[1]. In the fifth and sixth years, the study of the environment will be accompanied by *practical work* conducive to a better life. In the 'school environment' gardens and plantations will be cultivated, water supply laid on and filters built, deep latrines dug and buildings such as the school workshop put up and maintained.

We shall examine this study of the environment from the point of view of innovation, the procedure it follows and its chances of success, just as we did first in the case of methods and then in that of instrumental knowledge.

The first observation could be that the third year is much less devoted to studying the local environment than to acquiring the basis and tools directly needed for this study. Although references to the local environment during this year are much more frequent and much more precise, it still serves only as a reference and background. This is why third-year practical work, unlike that of the fifth and sixth years, has no direct connexion with the environment. It consists only of exercises designed mainly to complete the learning of the rules and instruments needed to study the environment. It is therefore quite inaccurate to say that the third year is devoted to studying the local environment; this, however, is only a criticism of the words used and is in no way a criticism of the syllabus, which carries on quite naturally from those for the previous years.

We shall give more attention to summarizing the syllabuses and methods for the following years, not so much because of the criticisms which they evoke as because of the questions it raises through its lack of precision, particularly here in the essential field of practical activities and subject integration. For example, it is said that the knowledge which is to be integrated by the study of topics is going to be acquired, by means of information leaflets distributed to the schools and by 'personal investigation in the natural and social environment'. The two methods are completely different, however, and the second calls for a series of approaches and rules which must be described and analysed. The essential point,

1. *La réforme de l'enseignement au Cameroun*, op. cit., p. 14 (our italics).

however, is this: nowhere do we see the link which, in an education aiming to train men capable of integrating with the environment in order to transform it, really integrates knowledge of the environment with practical activity. Practical work is normally defined by a know-how which is itself supposed to be the application of theoretical knowledge, and we feel this link and this pattern to be insufficient for an understanding of environmental studies which, as their natural extension, call for action on the environment. We shall explain the reasons for the questions we are asking by two successive and complementary analyses. We fully understand that, in order to cope with agricultural practical work, a child must not be too young. But we know that deeper *comprehension* of the subject leads to an *extension* of its study from the locality to the region and from the region to the nation and to the whole world. As a result, and this is in line with the educational theory implied by this interpretation, the environment can be properly and fully studied without practical work. It is therefore readily acknowledged, conversely, that though such work is conceived with an eye to 'the better life' of the community, it can be performed not in and on the environment proper but in the 'school environment'. This is in fact what happens. And it is at this point that the link between knowledge and know-how comes into its own again and practical activity tends to be reduced to practising a technical skill, which appears to be in contradiction not only with the spirit and basic purposes of the reform, but also with the new methods that IPAR has itself declared to be necessary to genuine study of the environment. It should be borne in mind that, when it contrasts understanding and learning, IPAR gives genuine understanding of a situation a definition including practical work as one of its essential elements, the one which synthesizes or integrates all the elements which go to make up knowledge. This practical work would of course be of no significance or value unless undertaken in the actual environment it is being sought to understand, and it is this understanding which really situates knowledge in relation to action. In accordance with this logic of knowledge, the topics syllabus should really have been backed up with a syllabus involving projects in which the children would apply and develop at the same time, through team work, their ability to think, to express themselves and to act.

This is not to say that IPAR is altogether caught in this contradiction, but just as it combines in too facile and imprecise a manner information from leaflets and 'personal investigation in

the natural and human environment', so it combines knowledge and practical activities, in too facile a manner and without sufficient precision as to their relations and integration, although at the primary level it is perhaps here that the key to interdisciplinarity is to be found.

Surprisingly, the endeavours of IPAR seem to be losing their customary precision, rigour and consistency. Whether this be due to conscious misgivings or to a largely involuntary and unconscious, spontaneous lapse, how is the situation to be understood and explained? The reason is perhaps the same as that which impels us to attempt, on the other hand, to discover the true nature and the true method of environmental study, for we encounter again here, in a more developed form and more decisively, the problem already stated at the end of the previous chapter which, when spelt out in full, reveals the main risk which the sponsors of the innovation in Cameroon took.

In studying the adult community leadership function entrusted to the primary teacher, we saw that it consisted mainly in making the ruralized school a centre of influence and a model for emulation. This led us to the conclusion that, when the school was asked to become an example to admire and emulate, it was also being asked to act upon the environment through its own resources alone, by means of its own efforts and using its own specific means. This amounted not only to maintaining but also to strengthening the traditional model of the school, seen as a distinct, autonomous institution and as a specially favoured, not to say exclusive source of knowledge and wisdom. This prompted us to ask two questions by way of corollary: can the innovations needed for adult community leadership find their place in the traditional model and the traditional, institutional setting? and can the school, even if ruralized, hope to act on the environment without also conceding that the environment may permeate and act upon it?

The latter question shows how the foregoing conclusion can be more generally applied. The school cannot become an example and a model for the community around it unless it is radically different from the traditional school: the ruralized school must be a new school. For the same reason it must be acknowledged that it is also by counting solely on its own resources, efforts and action that it should and can transform itself, and this transformation should hold good for all its new functions, not only that of community leadership but that of leadership in the school community too. It must be capable of undergoing a metamorphosis enabling

it not only to prepare the adult community to welcome the new generations of pupils but also to train the pupils so that they want to integrate with their environment and are capable of transforming it. There are two further questions that follow on from those posed above: are the innovations necessary for a type of leadership in the school community that markedly alters the type of pupil produced compatible with the institutional framework and the traditional model in which it is attempted to include them? and can the school, even the ruralized school, hope to train young people capable of integrating with the environment and of acting on it without also letting the environment permeate and act on the school? As in the case of the questions concerning adult community leadership, we cannot, for the time being at least, answer these two with any degree of certainty. In any case the facts or scientific evaluation, or both, will provide an answer. On the other hand, it is of interest to show here that the process and the future of innovation depend on these questions. We have also tried to show, because we also felt it important and of interest, that though we had no sure answers to them we had good reason to ask them. These reasons derive from analysis and from facts, and we believe we find the facts in Cameroonian experience itself. We do not think it possible to conduct observations in and on the environment[1], and still less 'personal investigations in the natural and human environment'[2], without consulting those who live in it and have first-hand experience of it, and without appealing for co-operation. Such co-operation will be much truer, closer and more sustained in the case of work which, to make possible environmental study undertaken with a view to an active and better life, must have its objectives in that environment itself. On the basis of these facts, educational analysis and reflection also lead us to ask similar questions. When considering the curriculum and methods of the ruralized school, we recalled that, in our view, the decompartmentalization of subjects was eminently conducive and even necessary to the removal of the compartmentalization between the school and the urban or rural community. We accordingly maintained that environmental study based, as it was by IPAR, on the integration of traditional subjects, was likely to help open the school up to an environment which would cease to be foreign to it and could be

1. *Interim report*, op. cit., p. 14.
2. Ibid.

influenced by it. Our demonstration[1] also concluded that reciprocity was needed. If the school opened itself up to the environment in such a way as to be able to influence it, an environmental study integrating knowledge would be facilitated and interdisciplinarity would become an educational reality. It seems clear, however, that this mutual opening-up process and this two-way influence are scarcely compatible with the model of a school conceived of as a 'centre of influence'. By 'opening itself broadly to environmental study'[2] the ruralized school does not open itself to the environment in the sense that it - the school - makes its action on the environment possible; but is it not also by opening itself to the environment, in the sense of allowing it to influence it and act upon it, that it will open itself up to environmental study, that is to say, that it will make the educational innovation of a more integrated form of instruction possible? All these considerations lead us and help us to ask the final question: to act directly on the environment and to train those whose business it will subsequently be to transform it, the school must itself undergo a transformation and become what is called in Cameroon the ruralized school; but for the latter to become a reality, is it not equally necessary for the environment to be instrumental in transforming the school, and should not the school, to ensure its own metamorphosis, itself call on the environment?

This question is not a criticism of IPAR but a question regarding the true import of its strategy and of its educational thinking, and at the same time a question regarding the development of innovation in the near future. It implies no retraction of anything that has been stated and introduces no contradiction into this study. In Cameroon, innovation could hardly be introduced otherwise. The academic world, the literate public and the school inspectors are hardly ready to conceive or even to envisage what has come to be called, not very felicitously perhaps, the 'ruralization of education'. In the short run at least, the impetus will not come from the grass roots, the public at large, whose image of the school ties in with popular expectation of it, namely a means of getting on in life, which in turn implies getting into the tertiary sector and moving to urban areas. Innovation must therefore start off

1. See *Seminar on the training of teachers by the interdisciplinarity system*, op. cit.
2. *Interim report*, op. cit., p. 12.

from, an initially small but particularly well-informed group determined to bring about change, which will act as intermediary. Such a group could do nothing without the backing of an enlightened political power. Furthermore, we know that time is short and that we must rapidly break out of the vicious circle to which one is condemned by the argument that to train new pupils there must be new primary teachers and therefore also new secondary and university teachers, but only students who have received a new training from infancy could become such teachers. This is a further reason for thinking that innovation must start off with an intermediary group, on the periphery of the teaching profession, determined to break new ground — even if, for the sake of continuity and efficiency, this means devising a strategy. This explains a great deal about IPAR, but the trend now appears to be towards a form of action in which innovation will take advantage of the established setting and make use of the traditional model to the point of extolling it for the purpose of imposing itself more firmly. Hence the apparently paradoxical idea of a new school as a centre of influence, and of the teacher as 'the schoolmaster according to the traditional Western concept.' To overuse the model, however, is to run the risk of becoming a slave to it.

Admittedly, in the case of Cameroon — which cannot be unique in Africa or even rare in the world — innovation had to originate from one focal point, proliferating into centres of innovation such as the ENIA-CPRs could and surely will be. If these centres are to be active enough to do constructive work and to exert influence, however, there is nothing to stop them seeking out and identifying in the environment such elements as may be incorporated in their constructive work; or rather, there is nothing to stop them associating in their work people who may, once engaged in the work and the innovation process, exert in and on the environment a certain influence which will perhaps be all the stronger because they have never left that environment. The existence of such people, who could be the real intermediaries for community leadership, both for the adult community and for teams of children, in no way contradicts what we were saying previously about the mentality of the population: just as certain intellectuals professing advanced *ideas* are not necessarily those whose *behaviour* will be the most useful for innovation, simple country people may have of the school a traditional image unsuited to the needs of the nation while adopting in their own lives behaviour patterns which could assist a ruralized school in attaining its objectives and sanctioning its

innovations. The development of an educational network in the environment which it is the aim to transform, firmly based on that environment and firmly anchored to its strong points, and the integration into the education system of 'resource persons' living and working in the community, would help build up around the ruralized school a consensus without which it has little chance of exerting influence and thriving. Whether in respect of the abilities for self-expression and action, agriculture, or health and hygiene, there are many such people in Africa and indeed in Cameroon. All who know the continent, and this country in particular, are aware of this; and anyone else can discover it from the already numerous and eloquent sociological studies. With regard to Cameroon, suffice it to consider, though they are not the only studies or perhaps the most conclusive ones, the *'Deux essais sur les relations ville-campagne au nord de Yaoundé*[1]'. These essays contain a wealth of particulars relevant to the problems covered in the present study. They show in the first place that the need for change is felt by many adult communities. It arises from the example of the town, the drawbacks of which country people clearly perceive, whilst seeking to adapt its advantages in and for their village. Adult community leadership is therefore often immediately possible without the example of the school being needed, and it is in connexion with the adaptation of urban techniques or solutions to the rural world that it should be applied[2].

In the case of the pioneer villages, the studies also show that their value as examples and models is often somewhat limited.[3] The pioneer villages themselves, despite the funds put into them to make them centres of influence, fall far short of expectations[4]. One should therefore think twice before attempting to make the school an example for emulation. On the other hand, the surveys show how adults without any special training or formal education are spontaneously capable of organizing themselves to improve their lives.

1. Published by the Office de la recherche scientifique et technique outre mer (ORSTOM), Federal Republic of Cameroon.
2. Ibid., conclusion, p. 88-93.
3. Op. cit., p. 55-56.
4. Ibid.

'A few "pure"[1] planters live in improved huts, though they are the exception. In this connexion, an interesting co-operative scheme for improved housing operates in the village of Ngali I. Thirty planters have formed an association and 'each of them buys two sheets of corrugated iron every month, which are given to one of its members, so that each month one planter roofs his hut completely with them[2]. Particularly noteworthy is the case of the village of Nkolmguen I 'which has specialized in tomato growing and by its example is encouraging the neighbouring villages of Nkolmbéne and Nkolmguen II.'[3] Here imitation can come into play and is indeed doing so because the model is not more or less artificially designed as an object of admiration. It has been created by the efforts and intelligence of young people engaged in transforming their environment, the setting of their day-to-day life. In this context and in these circumstances, some assistance in the form of education would clearly be welcome and very fruitful.

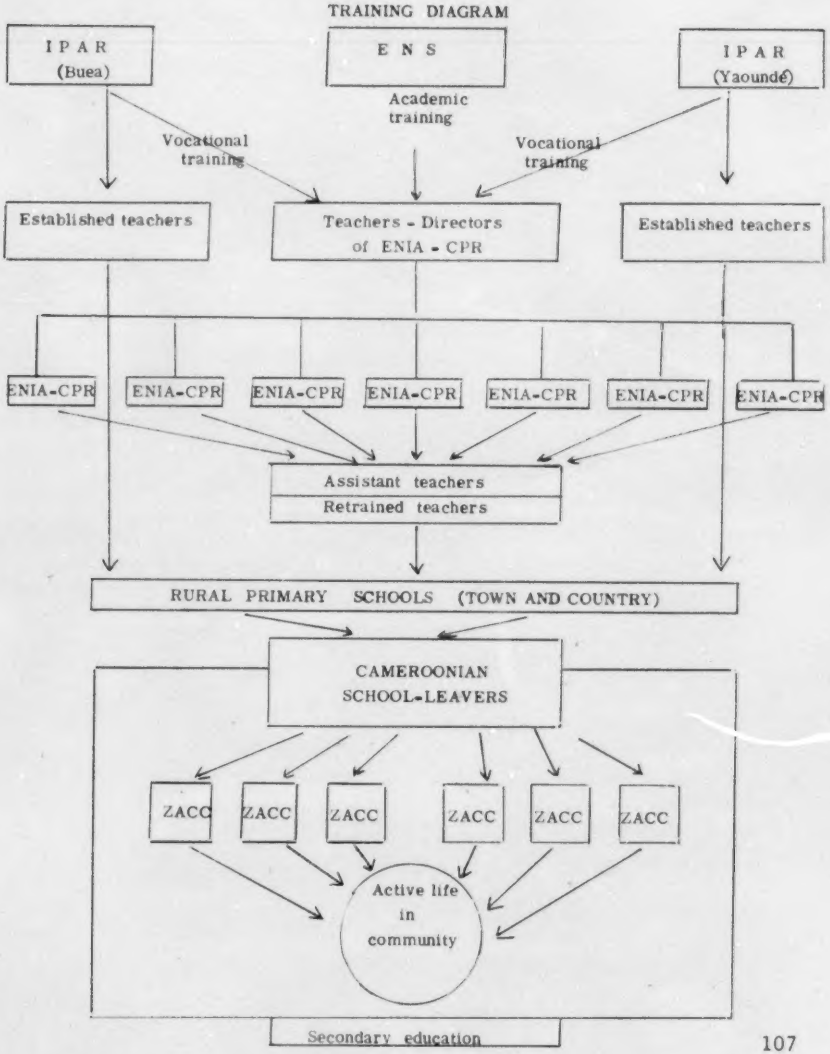
But for us this example is also reassuring, for it shows the extent to which the endeavour to create a ruralized school is directed towards objectives which truly meet the economic and social needs of Cameroon. It is true that the effort to discover the right means and the resolve to create imply choices and risks, but choices and risks are inevitable. Those who have made the choices and taken the risks and are continuing to do so deserve respect and assistance. So far are we from criticizing the sponsors of IPAR and of the reform that we would be inclined rather, as the reader will by now have understood, to regret that they have not taken greater risks by attempting a more radical innovation; but the fact that it is after all a limited and calculated risk at least confirms us in the belief that the ruralized school will provide fresh opportunities for the development of the country and the welfare of its inhabitants.

1. i.e. those who do not work in towns and have never worked anywhere but in the village.
2. Ibid., p. 42-43.
3. Ibid., p. 49.

ACRONYMS

| | |
|---|---|
| BEPC | Brevet d'études du premier cycle (Certificate of lower secondary studies) |
| BSC | Brevet supérieur de capacité (Higher proficiency certificate) |
| CAFMEG | Certificat d'aptitude aux fonctions de maître d'enseignement général (Certificate of proficiency as teacher of general subjects) |
| CEP | Certificat d'études primaires (Certificate of primary studies) |
| CTA | Chief technical adviser (Unesco) |
| ENIA-CPR | Ecoles normales d'instituteurs adjoints - Centres provinciaux de recyclage (Training schools for assistant teachers — provincial retraining centres) |
| ENIA-CRR | Ecoles normales d'instituteurs adjoints - Centres régionaux de recyclage, devenues ENIA-CPR (Training schools for assistant teachers, later regional retraining centres) |
| ENIR | Ecole normale d'instituteurs de plein exercice à vocation rurale (Rural primary teacher training school) |
| ENS | Ecole normale supérieure (Teachers' college) |
| INE | Institut national d'éducation (National Institute of Education) |
| IPAR | Institut de pédagogie appliquée à vocation rurale (Rural institute of education) |
| MEG | Maître d'enseignement général (Teacher of general subjects) |
| MEGA | Maître d'enseignement général adjoint (Assistant teacher of general subjects) |
| SAR | Sections artisanales rurales (Rural crafts sections) |
| UNC | Union nationale camerounaise (National Union of Cameroon) |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| URC | United Republic of Cameroon |
| ZACC | Zones d'action culturelle et communautaire (Zones of cultural and community action) |
| ZAPI | Zones d'action prioritaire intégrée (Zones of priority integrated action) |

## Annex I: Organization chart of training for and by primary education in Cameroon



## Annex II: Charts and tables

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10. Composition of primary teaching staff in East Cameroon, 1970 *p. 16*

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## Questionnaire (8)

*To develop the series further, it would be helpful if readers could record their impressions and inform the IBE. (Please write 'yes' or 'no' in the space following each question. Further comments may be written on the back of this sheet.)*

1. Do you find the author's analysis useful for your own work? ☐ in particular, is it:
   - an adequate survey of the field? ☐
   - a basis for further discussion and study? ☐
   - too abstract to be useful? ☐

2. With regard to the sources cited, could you indicate any recent documents of a similar type which have been overlooked?

3. Can you indicate any cases of innovation in your own country (or field of specialization) which you feel might have interest for other countries if adequately written up? Please name the person or institution able to provide further information about the project.

Please indicate your name and address and return this questionnaire to: the International Bureau of Education, Palais Wilson, 1211 Geneva 14, Switzerland or, when applicable, to your Unesco Regional Office for Education (i.e. Bangkok, Dakar or Santiago).